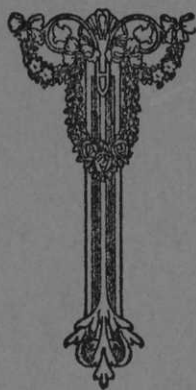


Forty-Fourth Annual
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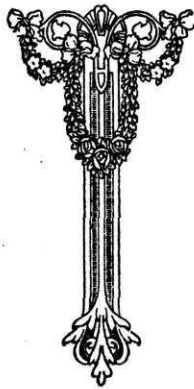
FOR THE YEAR 1935



Honolulu, Hawaii
Published May, 1936

Forty-Fourth Annual
REPORT
of the
Hawaiian Historical
Society

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Officers and Committees for 1936.....	4
Minutes of Public Meeting, July 8, 1935, to consider Kamehameha's birth-date.....	5
Appendix A, Resolutions adopted.....	6
Appendix B, Report presented.....	8
Addendum to Appendix B.....	17
Minutes of Annual Meeting, February 28, 1936.....	19
Report of the President.....	20
Report of the Treasurer.....	22
Report of the Librarian.....	23
Lunalilo, The Sixth King of Hawaii.....	27
A. FRANCIS JUDD	
Contemporary Letters.....	27
Sketch of Lunalilo's Life.....	36
The Legend of Kokoiki and the Birthday of Kamehameha I....	44
DR. MAUD W. MAKEMSON	
Koloa: a Sketch of its Development.....	51
BERNICE JUDD	
List of Members.....	86

Plates	TO FACE PAGE
Kamehameha I—portrait by Choris.....	5
Lunalilo, from a photograph.....	27

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KAMEHAMEHA I

in 1816

Drawn and lithographed by Louis Choris of the Russian
Kotzebue Expedition and published in "Voyage Pittoresque
autour du Monde," Paris, 1822.

MINUTES OF PUBLIC MEETING

July 8, 1935

A public meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held on the above date in the assembly room of the Library of Hawaii.

President H. P. Judd opened the meeting with a few remarks upon the purpose and program of the Society and in particular upon the purpose of this meeting, which was to consider the question of the birth date of Kamehameha in relation to the Kamehameha-Kalakaua celebration to be held next year.

Mr. Stokes then read a report which has been approved by the Trustees, dealing with the subject of the date of Kamehameha's birth and the origin and purpose of the Kamehameha Day holiday (June 11).

The Secretary read a set of resolutions which had been prepared by the Trustees for consideration by this meeting.

The meeting was then thrown open for discussion of the report and the resolutions. Remarks were made by several persons, including some who were not members of the Society. In line with suggestions brought out in the course of the discussion, two amendments to the proposed resolutions were adopted, and the resolutions as thus amended were adopted unanimously by the members present at the meeting. Mr. C. F. Chillingworth, though not a member of the Society, wished it placed on record that he favored the resolutions as amended.

The resolutions as adopted and the report by the Trustees are appended hereto and made a part of the minutes of this meeting.

The meeting was then adjourned.

R. S. KUYKENDALL,
Secretary.

APPENDIX A

R E S O L U T I O N S

ADOPTED BY THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

JULY 8, 1935

WHEREAS, Kamehameha I is universally recognized as being the greatest figure in the history of the Hawaiian people, and as being of significance even in world history; and

WHEREAS, the exact date of the birth of Kamehameha I is not known and in the nature of the case cannot be known; and

WHEREAS, the evidence now available points very strongly to the conclusion that Kamehameha I was born in some year during the period 1752 to 1761, the probabilities favoring the latter part of that decade; and

WHEREAS, Hawaiian traditions without contradiction indicate that the birth of Kamehameha I occurred in the stormy season of the year (fall or winter) and probably in October or November; and

WHEREAS, Kamehameha V by proclamation in 1871 appointed the eleventh of June of each year thereafter as a day to be "observed as a Public Holiday in memory of . . . Kamehameha I, the founder of the Hawaiian Kingdom," and that day is now a public holiday of the Territory of Hawaii under the title "Kamehameha Day;" and

WHEREAS, it is clear that the eleventh of June was selected for the purpose mentioned, not in the belief or on the assumption that it was the birthday of Kamehameha I, but simply because it was a convenient date and because a new holiday was desired in the summer to take the place of Restoration Day formerly observed on July 31; and

WHEREAS, the birth of King Kalakaua is well ascertained to have occurred on November 16, 1836; and

WHEREAS, King Kalakaua is one of the most outstanding figures and his reign one of the most important and colorful epochs in the history of the Hawaiian Kingdom; and

WHEREAS, Act 202 of the legislative session of 1935 appropriated the sum of \$10,000 to be spent by a commission (to be named the Hawaii Jubilee Commission) "in the celebrations of

the anniversaries of the birth of King Kamehameha I, and of the centennial of the birth of King Kalakaua;" and

WHEREAS, in spite of the fact that the Territorial legislature, in passing Act 202, carefully eliminated all reference to the bicentenary of the birth of Kamehameha I, it has been stated or implied in various statements by representatives of the Commission appointed in pursuance of Act 202, and by others, that June 11 is the birthday of Kamehameha I and that the bicentenary of the birth of Kamehameha I will occur in the year 1936 and will be the principal motive of the celebrations to be held on June 11, 1936;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Hawaiian Historical Society,

FIRST, that while the Society is entirely in sympathy with the idea of commemorating, from year to year, the life of Kamehameha I in accordance with the proclamation of Kamehameha V, and neither proposes nor desires any change in the holding of the annual celebration on the eleventh of June, the day named in the proclamation; nevertheless the Society objects to and protests against the propagation of the unhistorical assertion that June 11 is the birthday of Kamehameha I;

SECOND, that while believing it altogether appropriate that the bicentenary of the birth of Kamehameha I should receive special recognition in the form of a celebration under governmental sponsorship, the Society formally puts on record its opinion, on the basis of present available evidence, that the bicentenary of the birth of Kamehameha I will fall on some date during the period 1952 to 1961 and that the celebration of the event should therefore be held at some time during that decade;

THIRD, the Society heartily approves the idea of celebrating in 1936 the centennial of the birth of King Kalakaua, but the Society objects to and protests against the plan to call or consider the celebration in 1936, or any part of it, in any sense a celebration of the bicentenary of the birth of Kamehameha I.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Governor, Secretary, Auditor and Treasurer of the Territory of Hawaii, to the Chairman and Executive Officer of the Hawaii Jubilee Commission, to the Postmaster-General, and to the local press.

APPENDIX B

REPORT TO THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BY ITS TRUSTEES CONCERNING THE BIRTH DATE
OF KAMEHAMEHA I AND KAMEHAMEHA DAY
CELEBRATIONS

An avowed object of the Hawaiian Historical Society is "to cultivate among the citizens of Hawaii . . . a knowledge of the history . . . of Hawaii . . ." By such, we understand "a true knowledge of the true history of Hawaii so far as ascertainable."

In furtherance of this object, attention is drawn to the perpetuation, under governmental auspices, of what we believe to be an error in Hawaiian history—through public announcement as to the date of Kamehameha's birth, and erroneous claims with respect to its celebration.

Under Act 202, Session Laws, 1935, of the Territory of Hawaii, the "Hawaii Jubilee Commission" was appointed and furnished with \$10,0000 "which shall be spent in the celebrations of the anniversaries of the birth of King Kamehameha I, and the centennial of the birth of King Kalakaua." Of public announcements, under the authority of the commissioners, the following have been noted (with italicization added) :

On May 29, 1935, the Maui News announced, connected with the name of one of the commissioners: "The commission will arrange for the celebration of the *bicentennial of Kamehameha's birth* and the centennial of Kalakaua's birth, scheduled *next year*."

On June 11, 1935, during the Kamehameha Day exercises, the Executive Officer of the Commission stated at 10:30 a. m. from the bandstand, in opening his public address: "*This day we celebrate the birthday of Kamehameha the Great*." He then introduced a speaker who began with: "On a stormy night in November, 1736, *was born* a child . . . Kamehameha." Soon afterwards, this speaker also stated that June 11th was Kamehameha's birthday.

The same day, from the banyan tree, the same speaker announced on the world broadcast that: "Kamehameha *was born this day 199 years ago*." From the same spot, the official broad-

caster announced, according to the Honolulu Advertiser of June 12, 1935:

Of course, this great celebration . . . is but the forerunner of the most spectacular scenes of the *Kamehameha Bicentennial celebration next year* at which time the King Kalakaua centennial will magnify the observance. . . . We invite you to listen to our broadcast of the *Kamehameha Bicentennial* and King Kalakaua Centennial celebration one year from today.

On June 15, 1935, the Molokai News announced the appointment of a member of "the Jubilee Commission to conduct the 200th anniversary celebration of King Kamehameha the Great." The Hawaiian portion of this bi-lingual newspaper reads "ke Komisina Iubile no ka la hanau o ke Alii Kamehameha I," (the Jubilee Commission for the birthday of King Kamehameha I).

These announcements are in line with others made previously by members of the group who were appointed to the commission, and indicate that the commission plans to commemorate June 11, 1936, as the bicentenary of Kamehameha's birth. Compared with this is the date communicated to the House of Representatives by former governor Judd on January 4, 1934, after an investigation by the former Secretary of the Territory. The letter reads:

Although various local historians had accepted November, 1736, as the birth date of Kamehameha First, and the resolution requested a special commemorative stamp to be issued on the two hundredth anniversary in 1936, it has since been quite definitely established, through the discovery of the Don Francisco De Paulo Y Marin report that Kamehameha First was born in November, 1758.

During a careful painstaking search, no history nor ancient tradition has been found to establish, as fact, that June 11, 1736, was the birthday of Kamehameha I, nor such a year, month or day as the year, month or day of Kamehameha's birth. Nor can the date of Kamehameha's birth be definitely ascertained. However, good historical information has been found to indicate that he was born probably in October or November between the years 1752 and 1761. An approximation might indicate October, 1758, with the day of the month not ascertainable. Furthermore, indubitable evidence was found that the purpose of the holiday on June 11 is to commemorate not the birthday of Kamehameha, but Kamehameha as "The Conqueror" and the "Founder of the Hawaiian Kingdom."

The information gathered may be summarized under three headings, namely, birth-year, birth-month and purpose of June 11.

BIRTH YEAR

Kamehameha was born under the ancient regime, when it was not Hawaiian custom to record events by years. Ancient events were referred to the reign of some king. In the lifetime of an individual, events were referred to the contemporary state of his growth—babyhood, boyhood, maturity, several degrees of old age, etc., for all of which the Hawaiians had terms. By this method the year of Kamehameha's birth is referred to the time when King Alapai was staying at Kohala, preparatory to the invasion of Maui.

Annual counts were not practiced by the natives until taught by the missionaries, who arrived a year after Kamehameha's death. By 1858, native writers are observed to be compiling chronological tables.

Yet, while Hawaiian information on the *year* of Kamehameha's birth does fail us, it may be approximated through the estimates of his age made by the voyagers and others who saw him in life, (Table I). Eleven such estimates have been found, and reduced to the year they range from 1739 to 1761, and average 1754 A. D.

Estimates of Kamehameha's life-span were also made by those who did not see him, and are listed in Table II. A close examination will demonstrate that only four may be regarded as original; namely,* 1749, Freycinet; 1756, Beechey; 1753, Jarves, and 1736, Kamakau. Disregarding Kamakau's estimate, which was not made until 1865, the others, made nearest to the time of Kamehameha's death when his personal appearance was best remembered, average to 1753 A. D., almost identical with 1754, the averaged estimates of those who saw Kamehameha alive. They contrast so strongly with Kamakau's estimate of 1736 that they or it require close evaluation.

By indicating in a diagram (Table III) the number of estimates for the various years, we find one each for 1736, 1739, 1744, and 1749; and then, ranging from 1752 to 1761, a natural group of frequencies beginning with one each at the extremes and reaching a maximum of four about the middle, 1756. The group is comprised of eleven estimates, and includes all those made by estimators who saw Kamehameha in his younger days

This matter is important, because all estimates were made on

* The first three of these dates are the birth years calculated from the life-spans.

TABLE I

BIRTH YEAR OF KAMEHAMEHA I,
CALCULATED FROM ESTIMATES
BY THOSE WHO SAW HIM IN LIFE

Calculated birth year	Estimate of age	In	Author and Quotation
1753	40	1793	<i>Archibald Menzies</i> , surgeon and botanist, here in 1787-8, 1792-4; in "Hawaii Nei, 128 years ago," p. 64. Kamehameha, "... now about 40 years of age, stout and well made ..." With a new robe, "... was so highly delighted with this present, that he danced and capered about the cabin for some minutes like a madman."
1758	40	1798	<i>Ebenezer Townsend</i> , supercargo of the ship <i>Neptune</i> ; H. Hist. Soc. Reprints No. 4, p. 8. Kamehameha "... seemed to be not far, one way or the other, from forty years of age."
1752	50-60	1807	<i>Isaac Iselin</i> , in "Journal of a trading voyage, 1805-8," p. 75; June 29, 1807. Kamehameha, "A tall stout man of about fifty or sixty."
1759	50	1809	<i>Archibald Campbell</i> , <i>Voyages</i> , 1st ed. 1816, p. 211. "In 1809 the King seemed about 50 years of age."
1756	50-60	1811	<i>Gabriel Franchere</i> , "Narrative of a voyage ..." p. 64. "... appeared to me from 50 to 60 years of age."
1761	50	1811	<i>Alexander Ross</i> , "Adventures of the first settlers ..." p. 35. "Tammeatameah appeared to be about fifty years of age, straight and portly, but not corpulent."
1756	60	1816	<i>Samuel Patterson</i> , "Narrative ..." (Copyright, 1816.) p. 70. "Tamaamah is about sixty years old, an artful and sagacious man ..." (Visits in 1806-8).
1756	60	1816	<i>Charles H. Barnard</i> , "Narrative ..." p. 218, Dec. 5, 1815; Kamehameha, "old and venerable looking." p. 286, in 1816, about 60.
1739	79	1818	<i>Golovnin</i> , in Russian war ship, here in October 1818, translated in "The Friend," p. 51. "The King is very old, and counts himself 79 years of age, which, if not absolutely correct, is probably not far from the truth."
1758	60½	1819	<i>Francisco Marin</i> , here 1791 to 1837; journal translated by R. C. Wyllie. "8 May [1819] 'This day The King Tameamea died at 3 in the morning Aged 60 years and six months.'"
1744	75	1819	<i>Louis Choris</i> , "Voyage pittoresque ...", writing in 1822 placed Kamehameha's age at death as 75, stating: "His face when I saw him in 1817 looked like that of a septuagenarian."

1754 A.D.

Birth year averaged from estimates by those who saw Kamehameha.

Kamehameha's appearance, and Hawaiian kings are known to have aged rapidly. For instance, King Kaumualii was "aged," "old," or "venerable," at 40 to 43 and died at 44. Queen Keopuolani was a "venerable old lady" at 43. Kamehameha was better preserved than most, because at 60 Barnard regarded him only as "old and venerable looking." Guerin, Freycinet's surgeon, stated as of 1819, that men of 60 carried all the marks of final debility.

Obviously then, the estimates of the voyagers preceding the above mentioned group of eleven, must be discounted as over-estimates due to the very aged appearance of the king.

However, the earliest of them, 1739, Golovnin, is peculiar in that it is the number 79, when all the other estimates are in multiples of 5 or 10. In the original Russian text, the estimate is in Arabic numerals, and it is possible that the 79 is a misprint for 70. Golovnin could not converse with Kamehameha, and had as interpreter a Doctor Eliot, at whose house Marin was staying when Kamehameha died. And yet Marin noted in *his* journal that Kamehameha was only 60½ years old.

The year estimate, 1736, by Kamakau, requires careful consideration, because it has been picked up in modern times and so frequently quoted that many people believe it to be correct.

The basis of Kamakau's estimate has never been found or even explained. He was four years old when Kamehameha died in 1819. He could have received no ancient information on year counts because, as already shown the early Hawaiians did not keep them. In his chronological list, which the native writers of his time did not follow, he sets many dates which are grossly erroneous. For instance, an event in 1779 he places as in 1740 A. D.—a difference of 39 years.

A contemporary opinion on Kamakau's accuracy may be found in a letter signed "A Hawaiian" in the Hawaiian Gazette of 1868. Among other things, the writer says: "It is well known among the Hawaiians that some of Kamakau's historical writings are not authentic, and that his imagination supplies the material of other statements. This is evident by the controversy lately entered into by the native newspapers." Kamakau *was* constantly under fire by native historians. Since Kamakau was the first to use the date 1736, and it varies so greatly from the average of the estimates made by those who saw Kamehameha in person, it

TABLE II

BIRTH YEAR OF KAMEHAMEHA I
FROM *POST MORTEM* ESTIMATES

Calcu- lated birth year	Age at death	Date of Publi- cation	Writer	Here in
1749	70	1829	Freycinet	1819
1756	63	1831	Beechey	1827
1753	66	1843	Jarves	1837-42, 1844-8
"	"	1844	"	
"	"	1847	"	
1758	60½	1850	Wyllie—Marin	Resident
1753	66	1855	Damon in <i>The Friend</i>	"
1736		1865	Kamakau	"
"		1866	"	
1726		1867	"	
1753	66	1872	Whitney—Jarves	"
1753	66	1872	P. C. Advertiser, June	"
1753		1875	Thrum, <i>H'n Annual</i>	"
1753		1876	" <i>Chronology</i>	"
1753		1878	" <i>H'n Annual</i>	"
"		1879	" "	
"		1880	" "	
1758	60½	1880	Mrs. L. F. Judd—Marin	"
1736-40	over 80	1880	Fornander—Kamakau	"
1736		1887	Hitchcock—Fornander	"
1736		1891	Alexander—Fornander	"
1753		1899	Thrum— <i>Chronology</i>	"
1736-40		1912	Alexander—Fornander	"
1737		1915	Thrum— <i>H'n Annual</i>	"
1737		1926	Kuykendall	"
1756	63	1931	Stokes	"
1758	60½	1933	Stokes—Marin	"
1758	60½	1933	Walker—Marin	"
1758	60½	1934	Governor Judd—Marin	"

TABLE III

KAMEHAMEHA'S ATTRIBUTED BIRTH YEARS
DIAGRAMMED TO INDICATE NUMBER OF
ORIGINAL ESTIMATES

(Years calculated from estimates of age)

1735	1736	1737	1738	1739	1740	1741	1742	1743	1744	1745	1746	1747	1748	1749
	X			X					X					X
1750	1751	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763	
		X	X			X		X	X		X			
			X			X		X						
						X								
						X								

X=frequency of estimates.

should be rejected as part of the material said to have been supplied by his imagination.

Kamakau's date, 1736, first published in 1865, was ignored by [contemporary] local historians* (see Table II). Jarves' date, 1753, continued in use in local histories, chronological tables, etc., for many years after Kamakau's list appeared.

But for Fornander, who perpetuated many of Kamakau's errors, the year 1736 for Kamehameha's birth probably would not have been noticed. He repeated it, and since Alexander and later writers trusted him, this date has been generally followed as correct. Conscientious historians in the future will no doubt avoid it.

Contrasting with the estimates by Kamakau is that by Marin, who had opportunities of observing Kamehameha for over twenty-five years and attended him as physician in his last illness. Marin's journal entries, according to Wyllie's translations of extracts in the Archives, indicate that he thought in terms of years. He was also the king's financial agent on the Island of Oahu. The accounts preserved indicate intelligent and careful work. The two estimates, in their applicability, may be compared in the following descriptions, indicating Kamehameha's age after the true Hawaiian manner.

Bingham, arriving here in 1820, learned that Kamehameha was "a youthful warrior" when Captain Cook arrived off Maui in November, 1778. Jarves has it, "a mere youth." Kotzebue learned in 1816 that Kamehameha's first conquest (namely, in 1782) was made "in his youth." In 1805, Shaler was told that at the same conquest Kamehameha was "a young man." Then, tabulated for comparison:

	Marin (1758)	Kamakau (1736)
In 1778, "youthful warrior"	20	42
" " "mere youth"	20	42
" 1782 "in his youth"	24	46
" " "young man"	24	46

Thus the native description of Kamehameha's age indicate that while Kamakau's estimate is untenable, that of Marin may even be too great.

But all the estimates by those who saw Kamehameha were made after the year 1790 when Kamehameha removed some of his

* See Addendum, p. 17.

front teeth due to a mourning custom. Ingraham saw him in September 1789 and again in May, 1791, and remarked that the mutilation made Kamehameha appear ten years older. Possibly Kamehameha was a younger man than *any* of the estimates indicates.

BIRTH MONTH

While the birth year cannot be ascertained from native information, the birth month well may be, through songs or chants.

Kamakau, who shone at recitation, has two references to the month of Kamehameha's birth, namely, Ikuwa and Makalii. The reference to Ikuwa is in a song by Queen Keaka, wife of King Alapai of Hawaii island. No authority is quoted for Makalii. Kamakau prefers Ikuwa because it is a stormy month, and Kamehameha was said to have been born on a night of rain, thunder and lightning.

Hawaiian months were lunar, so that the new year began irregularly on the solar calendar. The first month of the year was Makalii, and on the island of Hawaii it began on the first new moon after the Pleiades rose at sunset, namely, about November 20.

Ikuwa, which is two months earlier than Makalii, might thus begin in the latter part of September, and might end in November, and centered in October. An event in Ikuwa month thus, would fall in the following order of probability, (1) October, (2) November, (3) September.

Kamakau's information supplies a remarkable confirmation of that by Marin who states that Kamehameha's age on March 8, 1819 was "60 years and 6 months." An estimate of 6 months added to 60 years seems absurd. But suppose we allow that 60 years was the estimate, built up from observation of twenty-five years, and that the 6 months was a calculation by Marin on learning the birth-month from the natives. The approximation of 6 months from May 8 would establish a day in November or October which, as has been shown, Ikuwa represented.

When Marin wrote, his situation enabled him to obtain the very best information concerning Kamehameha. The king had been ill for several weeks, and, as was customary, the nearest

relatives, and the highest chiefs and priests were congregated near the sovereign. The occasion was such that any biographical detail still extant concerning the ruler would have been available to Marin on inquiry.

The month of Kamehameha's birth may be accepted, with but little question, as the Hawaiian Ikuwa—or October-November.

DAY OF THE MONTH

As for the day of the month on which Kamehameha was born, so far no record whatever has been found to indicate it. Nor is such a record to be expected.

To claim that Kamehameha was born on June 11, because such is known as "Kamehameha Day," is to take an unwarrantable liberty with the facts. Such claim is specifically denied by our oldest member, Miss Mary A. Burbank, who remembers when the holiday was established.

ORIGIN OF KAMEHAMEHA DAY

The authorization of the holiday was made by Kamehameha V over his own signature on December 22, 1871, "in memory of" The Founder, as the words clearly indicate:

BY AUTHORITY

Coat of arms

We, Kamehameha V., by the Grace of God, of the Hawaiian Islands, King, do hereby proclaim, that it is OUR will and pleasure that the Eleventh day of June of each year be hereafter observed as a Public Holiday in memory of OUR Grandfather and Predecessor, Kamehameha I. the founder of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

Given at Iolani Palace, under OUR hand and the Great Seal of OUR Kingdom, this 22nd day of December, A.D. 1871.

(L.S.) KAMEHAMEHA R.

The official notice of the first celebration, and those for many years succeeding, designated June 11 as "the Commemoration Day of Kamehameha I," as the record shows:

BY AUTHORITY

Coat of arms

Tuesday, the 11th inst., the Commemoration Day of Kamehameha I., will be observed as a Public Holiday, and all Government offices will be closed.

Interior Office, June 4, 1872.

Ferd. W. Hutchison

Minister of the Interior.

and the government newspaper carrying these notices printed the following statement explaining the holiday on June 11:

This national holiday, which was observed for the first time in 1872, was set apart to celebrate the establishment of the Kamehameha Dynasty.

That June 11 was not intended to mark Kamehameha's birthday is definite because the contemporary newspapers referred to it as "Commemoration Day" or "Memorial Day of Kamehameha," and not "Birthday" as with the later sovereigns whose birthdays were known and being celebrated.

In 1872 the P. C. Advertiser noted: "It is peculiarly appropriate that the grandson of the First Kamehameha should set apart a day for the commemoration by the nation of the name and character of his illustrious predecessor on the throne."

In 1873 one local newspaper stated that the holiday was intended to forestall the American holiday of July 4, which was generally observed. Miss Burbank confirms this story. A second newspaper denied it, and said the substitution was for the holiday of July 31, which had become neglected in the reign of Kamehameha V.

In these early publications, June 11 is never referred to as other than "Commemoration Day," or words conveying that sense. In later years, the words "Commemoration of the birthday of Kamehameha I," are found. This is due to ignorance on the part of the writers, and apparently arose from confusion with other royal festivals in which birthdays were prominent. It is an error which is quite understandable, but one which better informed old residents never countenanced. For instance, Thrum in his *Hawaiian Annual* for the years 1875 to 1879 inclusive, announced it as "Kamehameha Commemoration Day." In 1880 and for 50 years later, he named it simply "Kamehameha Day." But not once did he name it "Kamehameha's birthday," although listing with it the birthdays of the other sovereigns.

ADDENDUM TO APPENDIX B.

Subsequent to the meeting of July 8, 1935, a note was observed in *The Friend* for September, 1868 (p. 77), challenging the correctness of Kamakau's statement (just published for the first time in English) that Kamehameha was born in 1736. The note, read at the Annual Meeting on February 28, 1836, is as follows:

AGE OF KAMEHAMEHA I.—Mr. Kamakau, a native historian, states in the *Hawaiian Gazette* [August 26, 1868] that Kamehameha I. was born in 1736, hence at his death in May, 1819, he must have been 83 years old. This would make him 43 at the date of Cook's arrival at the Islands in 1778, and 58 when Vancouver visited the Islands in 1794.

According to this date, His Majesty must have been 78 years old when his son Kamehameha III., Kauikeaouli, was born on the 17th of March, 1814. With all deference to Mr. Kamakau's historical knowledge, we must differ from his statement, and regard as more correct the statement that Kamehameha I. was born in 1753. This would make him 25 when Cook arrived. We should be glad to learn upon what historical data Mr. Kamakau bases his statement. . . .

Apparently the challenge was not accepted because in none of his published writings did Kamakau disclose such source of information.

The year 1753, regarded as the more correct, is also derived from Menzies' estimate made in 1793 (see Table I). It is found (see Table II) in all the editions of Jarves' history, and in subsequent chronological lists until changed through the influence of Fornander and Alexander. These authors, in turn, acknowledge their dependence on Kamakau.

The editor of *The Friend*, Rev. S. C. Damon, published many historical articles, including brief biographies of the Kamehameha rulers. In a later account entitled "The Kings of Hawaii," copied in the P. C. Advertiser of February 27, 1875 from the New York Illustrated Christian Weekly, the same author states that when Cook's ship

cruised off the shores of Maui, 1778, there came off a deputation from the chiefs, and among the young warriors there appeared one who was destined . . . I refer to young Kamehameha, then about twenty-three years of age.

This reference places the birth-year as 1755, and agrees with the other statements (p. 14 above) that Kamehameha was young in 1778.

ANNUAL MEETING

February 28, 1936

The Annual Meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held on the above date at the Library of Hawaii.

The minutes of the public meeting of the Society held on July 8, 1935, were read and approved.

The reports of President Henry P. Judd, Treasurer Thomas W. Ellis, and Librarian Miss Caroline P. Green were read and received for publication in the annual report of the Society.

The following officers were elected:

President (to serve for one year): Miss Ethel M. Damon.

Trustees (to serve for two years): Messrs. Victor S. Houston, Henry P. Judd, and Ralph S. Kuykendall.

By permission of Mr. Otto Degener, the owner, Mr. J. F. G. Stokes exhibited a copy of a rare pamphlet, published in Madrid in 1822, containing an account in Spanish of the Hawaiian Islands written by Manuel Quimper Benitez del Pino, a Spanish naval officer who visited these islands in 1791.

Miss Bernice Judd then read a paper on King Lunalilo written by her grandfather, Albert Francis Judd, together with extracts from private letters by the same writer relating to the same theme.

Mr. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., read a paper prepared by Dr. Maud W. Makemson, Assistant Professor of Astronomy at Vassar College, on the subject, "The Legend of Kokoiki and the Birthday of Kamehameha I." The paper called forth a lengthy discussion which was participated in by the following gentlemen: Messrs. A. G. Smith, V. S. K. Houston, H. P. Judd, Eben Low, C. H. Rose, Charles Bridges, and J. F. G. Stokes.

The meeting was then adjourned.

R. S. KUYKENDALL,

Secretary.

REPORT OF HENRY P. JUDD, PRESIDENT
OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FOR THE YEAR ENDING FEBRUARY 28, 1936

To the Members of the
Hawaiian Historical Society:

The nature of our activity as a Society is not spectacular, for research and study is rarely a matter of noise and publicity. The group of men and women interested in the history of Hawaii, small though it may be, is a group that is doing much in achieving the purposes of the Society.

Last summer the centennial of the founding of the sugar industry was observed at Koloa, Kauai, at which time appropriate emphasis was laid on the pioneer work of launching the industry which has done so much in developing modern Hawaii.

A special meeting of the Society was called last July to discuss the question of the probable date of birth of Kamehameha I. Interesting data was presented at that time, showing that the year 1736 may not have been the date of his birth. In view of the plans for a bicentennial celebration of the event, it is well for us to have this subject thoroughly studied.

The recent removal of the body of Father Damien from Molokai to Belgium has revived interest in the history of this noted missionary, resulting in considerable publicity on the Mainland and Europe. A recent issue of "The Congressional Record" contained an address by a Congressman on Father Damien.

More books on Hawaii are being produced each year. We note with much satisfaction the publication by one of our fellow members, Miss Jean Hobbs, of an important work on the lands of Hawaii, entitled "Hawaii, a Pageant of the Soil." This is a valuable contribution to Hawaiiiana. Other books, fictional in character, are attracting attention to Hawaii, even though these are not historical.

A definite suggestion has come to the attention of the Board of Trustees from the Library of Hawaii regarding the future status of our collection of books and other material in our pos-

session. This will necessitate a recataloguing and additional assistance in making our collection available to the public.

There is a genuine interest in things historical. We have a splendid collection and a good location. Our membership is aware of our aims and accomplishments. One thing we lack and that is a larger membership. Let us seek for a number of the younger generation who are seemingly interested in Hawaii's past, as they are also vitally interested in the future of these islands which we call our home.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY P. JUDD,
President, Hawaiian Historical Society.

TREASURER'S REPORT February 5, 1935, to February 6, 1936

INCOME

Balance in Commercial Account as of Feb 5, 1935.....	\$ 248.37	
Initiation Fees	2.00	
Dues	348.00	
Dues, Kauai Historical Society.....	56.00	
Sale of Reports and Publications.....	19.00	
Interest on Olaa Bond.....	30.00	
Interest on Davies Bonds.....	55.00	\$ 758.37

DISBURSEMENTS

Dues California Historical Society.....	10.00	
Dues Business Historical Society	10.00	
Dues America Historical Assn.....	3.00	
Mellen Associates	21.62	
(Meeting notices, mailing reports)		
Purchase of Books	25.01	
Printshop (375 copies of 43d Annual Report).....	264.32	
Bishop Trust Co. (Safe Deposit Box).....	2.54	
Hawaiian Printing Co. (Stamped envelopes).....	18.35	
Two Honorary Certificates	7.50	
Printing Checks	2.00	
Typing resolution on Kamehameha I.....	25.00	
Use of Auditorium (Library of Hawaii).....	2.25	
Water color and frame of Honolulu 1871.....	20.95	
Gaylord Bros.—100 Envelopes.....	4.40	416.94

Balance in Commercial Account Feb. 15, 1936..... 341.43

ENDOWMENT FUND

Balance in Savings Account Feb. 5, 1935.....	1,101.94	
Interest on Savings Account.....	30.01	
" on Bonds	85.00	
Dividends von Hamm-Young Stock.....	59.68	
Transfer Davies Bonds—5½% to 4%	50.00	1,326.63

ASSETS

Two \$1000 Theo. H. Davies Bonds—par value.....	2,000.00	
One Olaa Sugar Co. Bond—par value.....	1,000.00	
Ten Shares von Hamm-Young Preferred Stock.....	995.00	
Cash—Commercial Account	341.43	
Cash—Savings Account	1,326.63	\$5,663.06

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS W. ELLIS,
Treasurer.

February 21st, 1936.

Audited and found correct:

D. W. ANDERSON,
Auditor.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN
1935

To the Officers and Members of
the Hawaiian Historical Society:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The activities of the Library during the past year have been along the lines of routine work, and service to seekers of information.

Thirty-six complete files of serials were prepared for the Kamehameha School bindery, but illness of the bindery staff prevented return of the volumes in time for record in this report.

The Society has purchased and had framed a watercolor painted in Honolulu sixty-five years ago, and sent on approval from London. It shows a typical island scene along the beach, with Diamond Head as a background. The artist, Edwin C. Roper, was here aboard the "Nebraska" in 1871.

By purchase and gift a few new titles have been acquired:

"A Gazetteer of Hawaii", by John Wesley Coulter of the University of Hawaii.

"Hawaii, A Pageant of the Soil", by Jean Hobbs.

"Flora Hawaiiensis", vol. 2, by Otto Degener.

"The Kingdom of Hawaii", by Lilian S. Mesick.

"Our Western Outpost, Hawaii", by Dr. Arthur A. St. M. Mouritz.

"Wallace Rider Farrington", a Biography written by Thornton S. Hardy, and published by the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1935.

The new "Punahou School Directory, 1841-1935", a Catalogue of trustees, instructors and students for ninety-four years.

"Report of the Eclipse Expedition to Caroline Island, May, 1883", by the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D. C., gives not only a complete report of the American Eclipse expedition, but a description and history of Caroline Island.

From the Saunders Studio press in Claremont, California, we bought an attractive little volume, reprinted from the American Register of 1808, by permission of the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. The book is entitled, "Journal of a Voyage between China and the Northwestern Coast of America,

made in 1804, by William Shaler." Captain Shaler visited these islands twice, and his descriptions of the country, the people, their customs and mode of government are of historic interest. He obtained the good will of Kamehameha I, for whom he had the highest respect, and to whom he gave some excellent advice in regard to the conquest of the island of Kauai.

"Fragments VI, Family Records House of Judd", the gift of Mr. Albert F. Judd, contains the Diary of his father, A. Francis Judd's Voyage to Jarvis Island in 1858; and his grandfather Dr. G. P. Judd's Journal on the same voyage in 1859.

Miss Elsie H. Wilcox remembered us with a copy of the Koloa Centennial edition of the "Garden Island", pamphlets and clippings giving an account of the centenary celebration of Koloa mission and Koloa plantation. She also sent a copy of "Ancient Hulas of Kauai", by Mrs. Mary K. Pukui, as demonstrated by Mrs. Keahi L. Sylvester for the Kauai Historical Society.

Judge F. W. Howay's offer to complete our file of his "List of Trading Vessels in Martime Fur Trade" was gladly accepted.

From C. S. Kingston, Vice-President of the State Normal school in Cheney, Washington we received typed copies of Mrs. Julia B. Spaulding's letters to her parents, written from the Sandwich Islands in 1832. The Spauldings were stationed at Lahaina for four and a half years. These interesting letters are supplemented by "The Lahaina Mission Premises", by Mary Charlotte Alexander, reprinted from "The Friend", and given by Mr. Arthur C. Alexander.

We are indebted to Miss Ethel M. Damon for a copy of her monograph "Na Himeni Hawaii", a record of hymns in the Hawaiian language; to Mr. B. L. Marx for his "Recollections of the Republic of Hawaii"; to Mrs. Maude B. Cooke for a copy of the Index to the biography of Rev. William Patterson Alexander; and to Judge W. F. Frear for two copies of the second printing of his book "Anti-missionary Criticism", with additional notes and appendices. Mr. Robert W. Miller, who did considerable research in the Library, presented a copy of his attractive booklet, "Hula, Dance of the Islands."

Miss Fraser, Librarian of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, very kindly completed our set of the Reports of the Association of Hawaiian Sugar Technologists. In return I was

very glad to complete her set of our publications which she wanted to have bound. The Bishop Museum generously continues to send us a copy of each of its publications.

It is gratifying to report an increase in the use of the Library by local people and by visitors. At the request of Hon. Louis S. Cain, Superintendent of Public Works, brief biographical sketches were prepared to mark the portraits in Iolani Palace. Two stones in Kawaihao cemetery came to the notice of one of our members. Who were Benjamin McKenzie and Meredith Gairdner, M.D., who died in Honolulu in 1837? The Sandwich Island Gazette revealed that Mr. McKenzie came here in employ of the Hudson's Bay Co.; and that Dr. Gairdner was a promising young scientist from Scotland. Both men were highly respected members of the community. Both failed to find the health they sought, and were buried in the shadow of the historic old church.

It has been a pleasure to aid in finding data for the Koloa centenary and to verify statements and dates for the forthcoming history, which the Honolulu Advertiser plans to publish. Mr. Andrew Farrell, who is editing the manuscript kindly gave the Library a photostat copy of the "Golden Era", an eight page paper published in September, 1892, when the Lottery Bill was before the Legislature.

Interest in the Hawaiian Islands and the Hawaiian language has brought correspondence with mainland residents. The Chamber of Commerce has referred several letters for reply. The advance of aviation has brought the Islands of the Pacific into prominence. From Beach Creek, Pennsylvania came a letter asking for light on the discovery of Midway Island, enclosing money to pay for photostats of reports published in the Polynesian and the Advertiser.

A prominent resident of Honolulu received a letter from the librarian at Woodstock, Vermont, asking for information on Oliver Holmes, great-grandfather of Samuel Wilder King, Hawaii's Delegate to Congress. She referred the question to the Society. I forwarded all the information I could find, adding some items which Miss Judd, Librarian of the Carter Library, gave me.

A lady in New Jersey asks for a description of the wedding of Mary Carlin of Sydney, N. S. W. to Captain James, F. Cleav-

land of the brig "Mary Wilder", which took place in Honolulu, November 24, 1851; and a description of the officiating clergyman, Rev. T. E. Taylor, Seamen's Chaplain. All I could find to send her was a copy of the marriage notice published in the Polynesian, and a brief sketch of Rev. T. E. Taylor, for which she was very grateful.

We have taken a small part in the Mark Twain centenary. Mr. George R. Dane, of San Francisco, who is arranging the letters that Mark Twain wrote from the Sandwich Islands to the Sacramento Union in 1866, requested a search of our local newspapers for references to him. This took considerable time. Both the Advertiser and the Daily Hawaiian Herald furnished items which he did not have. He was particularly interested in a letter published in the Herald of October 17th, 1866, describing Queen Emma's arrival in San Francisco.

The last question to be recorded is of interest in that it came from Europe. The interpreter of the Egyptian Legation in Prague, Czechoslovakia, becoming interested in Hawaiian history, found the Historical Society listed in the "Encyclopedio Britannica", and wrote for information, enclosing a list of twenty-eight books, which he would like to borrow, offering to pay the postage. Seventeen of the titles listed are out of print. I wrote him enclosing a list of books on Hawaii, and dealers who could furnish them.

Looking to the future, it is my earnest hope that sometime this library will be re-organized and re-catalogued, and thus increase its usefulness.

Respectfully submitted,

CAROLINE P. GREEN,
Librarian.



WILLIAM CHARLES LUNALILO

Born January 31, 1835

King of Hawaii, 1873-1874

From a photograph by H. L. Chase.

LUNALILO, THE SIXTH KING OF HAWAII

By A. FRANCIS JUDD

[These contributions to Hawaiian history, contemporary letters and a brief biography, are by A. Francis Judd, Attorney-General under King Lunalilo, and later Chief-Justice of Hawaii.

The letters, written in 1873-1874 to Rev. J. R. Boyd, D.D., Mr. Judd's father-in-law, were recently found among his papers by his son, Albert F. Judd. The sketch of Lunalilo's life, written in 1891, is a rough draft, and not a matured article for publication.

So far as known, there is no other estimate of Lunalilo's life by a contemporary who had exceptional opportunities to know the king. Ed.]

CONTEMPORARY LETTERS

Honolulu

Rev. J. R. Boyd, D.D.

Jan. 18, 1873

My respected and loved Father

At the request of Agnes I commence a letter to you detailing, somewhat, the late stirring events in "Hawaii nei." On the 11th of December last the King Kamehameha V died quite suddenly. He had been, for some years past, growing excessively corpulent, eating enormously and taking little or no exercise, and at the time of his death must have weighed not far from 375 lbs. The last time he appeared out of the Palace Yard was on the occasion of the opening of the Legislative Assembly on the 30th day of April 1872. As Agnes & I reached here from San Francisco on the 5th of May she never saw the King alive. The immediate cause of the King's death was asphyxia—resulting from excessive fat—but as no post-mortem examination was allowed it is impossible to say exactly how this was effected. He had not appointed nor proclaimed a Successor to the throne so, as he left no children, the throne of Hawaii was vacant at his decease. The law provided that in such an event, the Cabinet Council was to immediately call a meeting of the Legislative Assembly, to elect a King from among the Native Chiefs. This was immediately done by the Cabinet, and Legislature was called for Jan'y. 8th 1873. Every one of the Community immediately cast about to consider who was the best and most available candidate. The King left a half-sister Ruth Keelikolani, Governess of Hawaii,

but who had no royal blood, as the rank of the late dynasty came through their Mother Kinau who was a daughter of Kamehameha I; and Ruth was a daughter of Kinau's husband by a former wife. Mrs. Bishop, wife of an American Banker is a high Chiefess, and an accomplished lady. There were also another family of Chiefs whose pretensions were claimed by the eldest Son of the family, Col. David Kalakaua. I mention last His Royal Highness William Charles Lunalilo, a nephew of Kinau, and a cousin of the late King—a Prince of fine education, polite manners and liberal instincts, but having had the cold shoulder given him by the late Kings, and never having been entrusted with any Government responsibility, had fallen into intemperate habits. I called upon him the morning the King died, and told him that the Nation naturally looked up to him as the probable next King. After a few days, public sentiment commenced to crystallize about him, and the best part of the Community rallied about, Kept him sober, and stayed up his hands. In the 16th day of December 1872, he issued a manifesto asserting his claims to the throne and made a promise to restore certain rights to the people which had been abrogated by the late King. This went like wildfire all over the Islands. Public Meetings were held, and at his request, a Plebiscitum was held on the 1st Jan'y. 1873—the result of which was unlooked for and something really wonderful, for of the Hawaiian males above the age of 20, who voted, over 11000 voted for Prince Lunalilo, and only 38 were scattering for other candidates. In Honolulu it was the most peaceable and orderly Election ever held here. The liquor Saloons were closed by request and not a single arrest was made. 3049 votes were cast in this city, everyone for Prince L., of course the Legislature had nothing left to them, but to satisfy the popular choice. On the 8th inst, the Assembly met and after the preliminaries were over, the vote for King was taken, which resulted unanimously in the choice of the Prince. Popular enthusiasm was most stirring, and as the King elect, handsome & young *walked* bareheaded, followed by thousands of his subjects cheering loudly—to his home, it did seem as if "*Vox Populi, Vox Dei.*"

The Ceremony of inauguration took place the next day at the large native church. The King walked there from his palace with his staff, and was received by the local military as well as a

Guard from the U. S. S. "Benecia." The church and the yard were crowded with people, all eager to see & salute their King. The Chancellor administered the oath to support the Constitution and then the King read his Address. While the Choir were singing an Anthem—"God Save the King" to words of his own Composition done some years ago, the King left the house, and the assembly broke up. The Cavalry then escorted the Governor in a tour around the City—proclaiming "*Lunalilo*" King of the Hawaiian Islands!—As I was on the Governor's Staff all day I was pretty tired when night Came.

The funeral of the late King came next and it came off with great show on Saturday last. The coffin was magnificent and weighed nearly a ton! The finest part of the procession were the "Kahili's"—or tall, enormous fly brushes of beautiful feathers of all colors—They have always been considered as insignia of Royalty here.

Jan. 2th 1873.

I continue the account. The natives were ill-mannered enough to cheer the King occasionally, though it was a funeral procession: but the truth is the late King was not loved, but the present one *is*. The Services were long at the Royal Mausoleum, as it is probable the last occasion on which His Lordship Bishop Willis will officiate, and he evidently wished to make the most of it. All this pageantry over, we were glad to have our quiet Sabbath come for rest and peace. For one I was heartily glad on taking off my Cavalry uniform for the *last time*... On Monday 13th inst. I rec'd the King's Commission as Attorney General, which gives me a seat in the Cabinet and also in the Legislature as a Noble. The pay is \$5000. per annum, and travelling expenses while on the Circuits to the other Islands. The only objection to the office is the necessity of going on the Circuits which occur six times a year: . . . The next day the Legislature commenced again on the proposed changes in the Constitution. Here I had to resign my seat as Member for Honolulu, and move across to my seat among the Ministry. I was continued as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. We worked hard the rest of the week, finished our labors and were prorogued in form by the King in person. Agnes was with the Court ladies, and the King showed her marked attention afterwards in the Chancellors' room.

He had not forgotten our call upon him when he was a Prince. The only marks of distinction the Ministry wore were broad blue ribbons across the breast—which I think a great deal better than the dress of the former Ministry i.e. gold lace, sword & feathers. Today we visited the U. S. S. "California," Admiral Pennock, and rec'd. a salute of 17 guns, also the U. S. S. "Benecia," Capt. Clary, and rec'd. also a Salute of 17 guns & finally upon H. B. M. S. "Scout"—Capt. Cator, who gave us also 17 guns—I came home to dinner tired but not inflated, I think. Tomorrow the King has an audience for the Foreign Representatives, Consuls and the Officers of the ships of war, at which we must be present. Admiral Pennock visited Europe and is a pleasant gentleman. He is intending to offer the King to take him and his suite in a tour through the group, using both ships and will show him every honor. By the "California" came Gens. Schofield & Alexander, both distinguished officers & pleasant gentlemen. You might like to know the name of the new King. "Lunalilo"—"Luna" means "*high*" and "lilo"—"*lost*" so the whole word means "so high up as to be out of sight." It is remarkable to notice the enthusiasm every one feels on seeing the new King—the man of their choice, whose instincts are right, and who has but *one* fault. Alas for that one fault! How many brilliant, Kind natures it has ruined. A vigorous temperance movement is in progress here now—as every good citizen must feel the necessity of encouraging the King in every way possible. A number of gentlemen who generally use wine have decided not to use it on any public occasion, when the King is present: and if abstinence from wine is only made fashionable, how the temperance reform would move on!

I know my office is full of labor and responsibility, but I hope to discharge it with acceptance—at any rate my official life will not unfit me to resume practice whenever I can no longer serve the Country. The papers say I am *too* young—was 35, on Jan. 7th, but have had eight years experience at the bar and among the natives.

We do not intend to greatly alter our simple style of life, but may have to entertain at dinner occasionally. Our new buggy is a fine one and is a great comfort to us: we have not yet a satisfactory horse, but have a new one today to try.

Father has been improving during the week past, but we cannot hope that he will ever be much better. As Agnes has already written 40 pp. in *one* letter, for this mail, I think you will excuse me for confining this letter to reasonable limits. . . .

Your aff. son

A. F. Judd.

Rev. J. R. Boyd

Attorney General's Office,
Honolulu, Oct. 24th 1873

My dear Sir

The accident to the Str. "Costa Rica" was very inconvenient & disturbing to us. After waiting several long days after she was due, a sailing vessel brought the news of her disaster by way of Portland, O. Last Sunday the U. S. "Saranac" with our old friend the Pennocks' on board, arrived with a few letters, the *latest*, then on Tuesday the "D. C. Murray" arrived with all the delayed passengers but no mail & yesterday the J. W. Seaver sailing two days before the "D. C. M," arrived with an enormous mail some 22 letters to Agnes & me & nearly a bushel of newspapers. Unfortunately for Agnes, we had arranged for some of the 'Judd family' & its branches to be at "Rosenheim" this eveg. to get acquainted with Mr. Adam's bride, & so Agnes' letters for this mail will not have their usual length. In fact we did not finish reading our letters until 10 o'clk. last eveg. The "Costa Rica" will soon be here again & is advertized to make her regular trip next month. I am much obliged to you for your very kind offer in regard to my dear departed Mother's MSS. It is rather cumbersome but extremely interesting—to expurgate it of almost all allusions to the political history of the Islands—which I think a great mistake, and I will have to go through the entire work erasing the erasures or most of them. In addition, I should like to have the work contain a short memoir of both of my departed parents, in fact to have the work a memorial of them. With this view, there is no special hurry in getting the book out, but I shall work at it from time to time as I have opportunity. We are much gratified with your kind letters of sympathy & condolence. Even now as we visit "Sweet Home" it seems as if we must see Father in his easy chair on the verandah. I do not associate any gloomy ideas with his death—

for it was so peaceful.

We are much obliged for the Books, & papers you send—I am a great reader—I find it takes my mind off from my cares better than anything else. I have just finished Motley's delightful work the "History of the United Netherlands," & now shall read papers & magazines until they are exhausted.

Our King has now about recovered his health & is doing very well indeed. The Soldiers mutiny had one good result, the disbanding of a useless & expensive army. Truly God overrules evil for good. I have been delighted with your accounts of your summer's visitations & receiving of Company. Geneva must be a gay place in summer. Agnes continues bright, well & happy & loved by every one who sees her. Our daily prayers ascend for you all & I know we have yours. With love to all

I am,

Your aff. Son

A. F. Judd.

Rev. James R. Boyd

Feb. 26th/74.

My dear Sir;

Lunalilo returned from Hawaii Jan. 17th, 1874 in the last stages of consumption, his voice a mere whisper, and he very thin and weak. He lingered wonderfully, as the Doctors say, until the eve'g of Feb. 3rd having survived his birthday and the general election for Representatives.

During his last days I saw him frequently, and had some conversation with him—but not on religious subjects—after several interviews he executed a codicil to his will. Throughout he seemed very free from the superstitions common to the native character. As a rule they are averse to making wills when they are sick, fearing that it will be an evil omen and cause their death. The late King Kamehameha V, died on his birthday—and all the natives said Lunalilo would die on *his*, the 31st of Jan'y, but the fact that it was his birthday seemed to brighten him up and made him more willing to execute his codicil which he did on that day. He had had, in youth, good religious instruction & possessed of an unusually retentive memory, we hope that he was aware of his condition & knew where to seek comfort & peace—but we have no evidence that he embraced the Lord Jesus as his

Saviour. In a conversation with Mrs. Cooke his old teacher, he seemed greatly affected, but died and made no sign. With the pertinacity peculiar to the nature of his disease, he *clung* to life and said to me with a smile, "If I should marry and have a child, I should want it to inherit my property." I replied—"Your Majesty, you can make a new will whenever your circumstances change—every year or many times a year if you desire to do so." Though Lunalilo was from mere boyhood addicted to the excessive use of intoxicating drinks, he appreciated its evil, and frequently would urge this as a reason why certain persons, spoken of as candidates for office, should not be appointed. So far as his official intercourse with his advisers was concerned, he was deferential & courteous, and he never interfered with his Cabinet in the management of their Departments—nor did he ever ask anything of them that was improper. He was forgiving to those he thought had injured him. I remember well a Court Martial, some six years ago, of which I was Judge Advocate, convened to try the then Prince Lunalilo for improper & irreverent behavior in church as being conduct "unbecoming an officer and a gentleman"—he being then on Kamehameha the Fifth's staff. Though he thought he was unjustly tried, & dismissed from the position—& often spoke of it, he bore no malice to any of the Court, for he appointed three of the members of the Court on his personal staff, and me his Attorney-General. In thinking of his failings, we should remember his early training—a son of the high chiefess "Kekauluohi," Premier of Kamehameha III—heir of a large property, petted by every one—and with a host of servants ready to gratify every whim. The only discipline he was ever subject to was during the few years when he was in the Royal School under Mr. and Mrs. Cooke.

The only work he ever did in his life was to copy some for the late R. C. Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Affairs—and while in this office of red tape and diplomatic verbiage, he caught many manners and expressions which he always remembered. So far as I know he never had offered him any position of work or responsibility under any of the Kings of Hawaii—and even Kamehameha V who appointed him on his Staff, never gave him any Commission.

After his school days were over—he was an *idler*—nothing with

which to occupy his active mind, but books and magazines & newspapers, and this was dull work as his companions were not of a class who would sympathize with him in his literary tastes, or encourage him in their cultivation.

I speak of his memory. I have heard him, as a prince, repeat verses, songs, declamations etc which he must have learned 20 years before—and all correctly and fluently.

He would give you the names of all the ships of war which had visited here, and of their officers, and recall little incidents which everyone supposed were forgotten.

As a prince he was generally surrounded by those who sought conviviality and dissipation—in short he had nothing to hope for or to live for. Of course such a course of life told upon his mental as well as his physical constitution—and when he ascended the throne by the unanimous vote of the legislature and the wish of the entire people—only 38 years old, he was already a broken man.

In the Legislature, as a Noble, whenever he took sides at all, it was the popular side, a democratic tendency—which the treatment he received from the late King Kamehameha V. only fostered. The Plebiscitum which he, influenced by inconsiderate friends, called for, proved a success—so far as it was an expression of the popular wish that he should be King—but it gave the people the extreme republican idea that Monarchs reign by the consent of the people, and that their consent desirable though it may be, is *essential* to the validity of Kingship. Many people supposed that the popular election of Jan'y 1st, 1873 legally made Lunalilo *King* and that the Legislative Assembly merely ratified the choice.

We have seen the mischievous results of such an idea in an angry mob attacking Representatives from other districts, and sacking a Government building. Lunalilo seemed largely imbued with this idea, and I think it was mainly because he had been elected King—that he declined to take the responsibility of appointing a successor—but preferred to leave it to the Legislature.

The history of the negotiations for a special treaty of Reciprocity on the basis of the Cession of Pearl River, showed hesitation and vacillation on the part of Lunalilo—this was because he was uncertain whether or not such a Treaty was really popular

with the masses & the constitution of his mind was such that it was impossible for him boldly to press a policy that seemed to be unpopular.

After a reign of but one year and 25 days he sleeps with his ancestors—wrapped in the magnificent feather cloak of Kekauluohi his Mother—the last of his lineage—sincerely loved and lamented by all who knew him.

What he might have been under different skies & influences, we can readily imagine. Having no taste for Hawaiian amusements, as the Hula & Olioli, passionately fond of music, gallant to ladies & polite to all, his instincts were noble and good. But for his *one* fault, he might have lived long a good, popular *safe* King, opposed to all useless display and advocating an economical and careful administration of Government. May his successors imitate all that was good in him and eschew what was evil.

March 2nd, 1874

I wrote the above a few days ago, and read what pertained to *Lunalilo* before the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society on Sat. Evng last, as it was a subject of general interest.—The King was entombed on Saty last with great pomp & ceremony. Some 300 men from the Ships of war in port assisted at the procession and firing vollies at the Mausoleum. The display of "Kahilis" was very fine indeed. A "Kahili" is a long pole, 30 ft., some or them, covered with feathers—some black, some white, some purple, some red, in fact all colors, in this shape. The feathers are fastened on slender sticks—they resemble mammoth fly brushes, and are of various shapes & sizes. The King appointed me the 2nd Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

It is a position for life—salary \$4,000 per year—and though a position of great responsibility—is also one of comparative quiet, leisure and dignity. I am now removed from political excitement and the annoyance of unjust criticism. Thus far I have not had work enough to keep me busy officially, but the work of fitting up my office anew, and putting papers & accounts to rights has fully employed me. The dear baby grows nicely—is a good, smiling, beautiful child and a great treasure to us. . . .

Love to all. More next mail

Your

Frank.

SKETCH OF LUNALILO'S LIFE

William Charles Lunalilo was born in a two-story house of coral at Pohukaina, now the eastern part of the Palace yard in Honolulu, on the 31st day of January, 1835.*

His mother was Kekauluohi, often called Auhea and the "Big Mouthed Queen" by foreigners. This high chiefess was the daughter of Kalaimamahu by Heiheimalie, a sister of Kaahumanu. Kalaimamahu was the older brother of Kamehameha I, who later had the same Heiheimalie to wife. The fruit of this union was Kinau, the mother of the Kamehamehas IV and V and of Victoria Kamamalu. Heiheimalie was married in 1842 (Oct. 19) to Hoapilikane and was thereafter known as Hoapiliwahine.

Kekauluohi became one of the wives of Kamehameha II, but when Christianity was introduced here, Kamehameha II allowed Kekauluohi to marry Chas. Kanaina, and Kinau, Mataio Kekua-naoa, and he [the King] retained Kamehamalu ordinarily known as Kamamalu as his one wife.

It will thus be seen that Lunalilo was doubly connected with the Kamehamehas, being a grand nephew of Kamehameha I, and a cousin of Kamehamehas IV and V. The natives would sometimes call Lunalilo a "kaikaina" or younger brother of Kamehameha V, and sometimes a "kaikuaana" or older brother because his mother was older than her sister Kinau the mother of Lot Kamehameha.

To Chas. Kanaina, Kekauluohi bore one child [who reached maturity], William Charles Lunalilo. His mother was ambitious for him and when a name was suggested for the infant she said others are high in rank but this is highest of all and he shall be named "Lunalilo", that is so far up on high as to be lost out of sight—"luna" meaning above and "lilo" lost. Kekauluohi died in 1845 before the Land Commission was organized, but Lunalilo's father Charles Kanaina, ever alive to his princely son's interest,

* Alenxader's chronology gives the year as 1832 and is followed by the Territorial officers and many others. The date here given, 1835, is nevertheless correct, since it is so recorded in Amos Starr Cooke's journal and in his report of 1839 to the American Board, in R. C. Wyllie's note of 1844 and by early historians. It also appears on Lunalilo's coffin. Lunalilo, when four years old, was placed under Mr. Cooke's instruction.—Ed.

procured that the lands which had been given to Kekauluohi by Kamehameha I, when he partitioned the group, should be awarded either to Lunalilo directly or to himself for Lunalilo.

After King Kamehameha III, Lunalilo in succession to his mother and Victoria Kamamalu in succession to her mother, received Awards for more lands than any other individuals.

In 1876 after the death of Lunalilo, his father, Kanaina in his old age, undertook to set up a claim that the lands which Lunalilo and Victoria had were by the will of Kekauluohi to go to the survivor of them, and, as Lunalilo survived Victoria, he as the devisee of Lunalilo, claimed them of Keelikolani the heir of Victoria. The writer decided the case against Kanaina on the principle that the Land Commission awarded the lands of Kekauluohi to Lunalilo and those of Kinau to Victoria and their heirs and assigns, without any limitation to the survivors. (See 6 Hawn. Reports, p. 172 for a fuller account of the proceedings).

Let us picture to ourselves this handsome boy Lunalilo, with his regular features and comely figure, the darling of his mother, the Kuhina Nui until her death when he was but 10 years old; a swarm of servants to do his bidding, to dress and undress him, to lomi him when tired, to carry him on their backs, to stand his cuffs without resentment, to help him break the rules of the school, to shield him from punishment when he deserved discipline, in fact his slaves. Lunalilo was sent to the Royal School founded in 1840, under the charge of Mr. and Mrs. A. S. Cooke, where he acquired a very good knowledge of English and a fair education. He was a popular fellow and much liked. He left school when he was about 15 as near as I can ascertain and lived at the home where he was born—then next to the old Palace. He lived in idleness and was led to a fondness for liquor. At one time he wrote in the foreign office for Mr. Wyllie, the Foreign Minister, but that is all the employment he ever had. In 1858 owing to his improvident habits he was put under guardianship, three years after he became of age. It was on the petition of his father, and the young Prince came into Court, waived the notice required by law and consented that guardians be appointed. Dr. Armstrong, J. W. Austin and Kanaina were accordingly appointed and the Prince remained under guardianship until the 31st of December, 1872, when his then guardians Kanaina and

C. R. Bishop were discharged by the Probate Court. Kamehameha V had died on the 11th of December without a successor and it was evident that Lunalilo would be elected by the Legislature as the next King. It was therefore deemed wise to have the guardianship terminated. Lunalilo, as I have said, was never entrusted with any public office by any king. He was never sent abroad for travel and was kept on a small allowance of money. No doubt his prudent guardians thought they were pursuing a wise course, but is there not good reason to believe that if his mind had been enlarged by travel abroad, and he had been made to feel the responsibility resting upon him as a prince of high rank and owner of a large estate, his life might have been different? As it was, he read his periodicals at home and saw but little company. When his allowance was paid him he invested it in drink and when intoxicated rioted in low company. Nothing pleased him more when in such a state, than to have about him a crowd, to whom he could quote Shakespeare, recite declamations he had learned at Mr. Cooke's School and sing English man-of-war songs, notably the "Death of Nelson." He had a seat in the House of Nobles but took but little interest in it, and now and then would surprise the house by a flash of wit or mimicry. He was revered and loved by the Hawaiians, for he was the most democratic, lovable prince that could be imagined—a very "Prince Hal". On one occasion he was very noisy in the Legislature and when a Minister was undertaking to have him quieted by the sergeant-at-arms, the native members of the house rose en masse to prevent any hands being laid on their Alii. King Kamehameha V provided him with an uniform and had him serve on his staff. When he was cited to appear before a court martial to answer for some misbehavior in the Roman Catholic Church, he appeared without counsel and took the Court all aback by pleading to its jurisdiction saying that he had never been commissioned by the King. This was true and all the court martial could do was to recommend him to return his uniform, which he did.

So his life went on. He was courteous, gentlemanly, intelligent—but his life was aimless and without hope or ambition. He never traveled about the islands even.

During the reign of Kamehameha IV, a marriage was arranged between Princess Victoria and himself. These young people were

rich in their own right, of equal rank and had known each other from infancy. Prince William consented, but when all preliminaries were settled and the day set, the Princess' brothers asked that a marriage settlement be executed by which the Prince was to renounce all claim to the Princess' property. This interference so offended Prince William that he declared the engagement at an end. The result was that both the Prince and Princess died unmarried and childless. The Prince sat in the Constitutional Convention of 1864 and warmly espoused the cause of the people against the encroachments of the kingly authority.

On the 11th of December, 1872 Kamehameha V died childless and without naming a successor. The thoughts of every one, native and foreigner, turned to Lunalilo as the next king. Acting on the advice of friends he issued a proclamation on the 17th announcing himself as a candidate for the throne. He reformed his habits, dressed well and began to receive hosts of callers and an abundance of advice from the responsible and irresponsible.

On the 1st of January, an informal election was held at which any male could vote—it was called a plebiscite. There was much enthusiasm and 3049* votes were cast for Lunalilo and no votes for any one else.

This pleased the Prince and made evident his great popularity. I was frequently with him during those days and was much gratified at the insight he had into political matters and constitutional government. His extensive reading was beginning to tell. On the 27th of December, he told me I was to be his Attorney General. He was much set upon changing the rather illiberal Constitution of 1864, thrust by Kamehameha V on the people. He wanted two houses of legislature and several other changes to make the Constitution conform more to the liberal spirit of the age. The funeral of Kamehameha was set for the 7th of January, 1873 (Tuesday) but it rained so severely that it was postponed until Saturday the 11th. On Wednesday, the 8th, the Legislature convened. The House was opened at 12 m. After the organization, the ballot was taken and Lunalilo received the entire vote of 37. The Certificate of Election was presented to him. He received it in the Chief Justice's chambers in the Legislative Hall, now H. Hackfeld & Co.'s building. He would have no royal carriage

* On the margin the author had added "12,531 on all the Islands—51 scattering".—Ed.

and bare headed, walked to the Palace arm in arm with Chief Justice Allen at the head of an immense throng of natives. The next day at Kawaiahao Church he took the oath of office and addressed the Legislature and people, and that afternoon was publicly proclaimed King. Saturday, Kamehameha's funeral came off. Lunalilo rode in the procession in the royal carriage just behind the catafalque. When the crowd of people which covered Judd Hill recognized him they set up a roar of spontaneous and hearty cheers—a strange sound, drowning the funeral march by the band and the wailings of the professional mourners.

On Monday, the 13th of January, Lunalilo appointed his Cabinet. On the 14th Tuesday, the King's message went to the Legislature recommending the amendments to the constitution. They took their usual course, were all passed, in order, without dissent, and the business of the special session was completed on Friday and the house prorogued on the following Monday. It is sufficient to say that the next Legislature under Kalakaua voted down every one of these amendments.

Thus Lunalilo's reign began. It ended with his death February 3, 1874. The limits of this article will not permit any detailed account of his short reign. The people were full of hope and expectation that it would be long and prosperous. Eighteen hundred and seventy-three was a year of great financial depression. Plantations were heavily in debt, money was scarce and business depressed. Generals Schofield and Alexander of the United States Army visited the islands and made a thorough examination of the Pearl River Lagoon and the result was that negotiations were begun for a treaty of reciprocity with the United States—a cession of the Lagoon for a naval station to be made as our equivalent for free sugars, etc. These negotiations were dropped towards the end of Lunalilo's reign, owing to the opposition fomented against them—mainly by Mr. Gibson's paper the "Nu Hou". Also the King's failing health made it improbable that he would live to complete the treaty. The King's constitution was completely undermined. A cough became persistent and consumption began. On the 17th of November, he went to Kailua with a number of the chiefs hoping that the quiet air of that place would be beneficial. He grew worse, and finally, on the 18th of January, 1874, he returned to Honolulu in a very low condi-

tion, and went to his palace at Haimoipo and to his bed, never to rise again. On the 19th the Cabinet made an effort to persuade him to appoint a successor in order to avoid the trouble which it was foreseen would likely occur between the adherents of Kalakaua and Queen Emma. He utterly refused to appoint Kalakaua and said he was not prepared to make any appointment.

Lunalilo had executed his will on the 7th of June, 1871. It was evident to me that he was largely influenced to leave his property to be devoted to the founding of a home for indigent Hawaiians by suggestions of Mr. and Mrs. C. R. Bishop. Just prior to Mrs. Bishop's departure for the United States in 1871 she had made a will. It was remodeled later and the last one made provided for the Kamehameha Schools. Lunalilo was much pleased with the idea of providing for his people and when I had completed the will, he went with me to Mr. Bishop's bank where he signed it in the presence of myself and Mr. Paty, who witnessed it. He made no allusions to it to me until after he was King and in his wasted and feeble condition on the 22nd of January 1874. The will of 1871, left all his property to his father Kanaina for life; then to his cousin Kamehameha V for his life, in case he should be alive at Kanaina's death. This was a strange provision but, though he was not on good terms with Kamehameha and disliked him, he felt that it was his duty as a chief to thus recognize Kamehameha's claims as his cousin. The next clause was to the effect that if he married and had children, they were to have his property after his father's life estate ended. The third clause in the will founded the Home—it devised all his property after the death of his father to three trustees, to be appointed by the Justices of the Supreme Court, in trust to sell it and when the amount realized \$25,000 to erect buildings on Oahu of fire proof material "for the use and accommodation of poor, destitute and infirm people of Hawaiian (aboriginal) blood or extraction giving preference to old people:" The Justices were to require accounts of the trustees, and were empowered to remove them and fill their places at pleasure.

The fourth clause provided that his remains should be deposited in the same tomb with his father, wherever that might be. Mr. C. R. Bishop was appointed executor. On the 22nd January, 1874, as above stated, Lunalilo said he wished to make some

changes in his will. He wished to leave the silver which had belonged to his mother Kekauluohi to some one and also his marine residence at Waikiki, and he wished a tomb built in the Kawaiahao church yard for his remains and those of his father. On the 24th he said that he wished his marine residence to go to Queen Emma. I had drafted and copied the codicil, but he said he was too weak to sign his name and told me to come again the next day. He kept postponing the matter. On his thirty-ninth birthday the 31st of January, he seemed brighter. His medical attendants Drs. Trousseau and Oliver said he was in a fit condition to attend to business. I went to the Palace at an early hour, read the codicil to him and an additional clause that I had prepared making it more certain that the Home should be supported and maintained by the excess of the property over the \$25,000. He assented to the addition and I went into the next room and copied it on to the codicil and returned and read it to him. At his request I wrote his name, and Dr. Oliver and Minister of Finance Sterling signed it as witnesses. After I had written his signature he took the will, looked at it and then tossed it to me on the bed. When the others were gone I had a pleasant talk with him. He said with a smile "suppose I get well and marry and have children, how about this will?" I said "You can make a new one." I asked him if the salute from Punchbowl that day in honor of his birthday would trouble him. He said "no", most emphatically. I never spoke to him after this. He took no nourishment, sank into a stupor and finally died at 8:50 in the evening of the 3rd of February. Kanaina contested the probate of the will and, on appeal, a Hawaiian jury sustained the will and codicil, all but the last clause of it respecting the maintenance of the Home. I never could see the object of making this contest over the codicil. Kanaina had a life estate in all the property by the will and could get no more if the codicil failed. When I went into the anteroom to copy the last clause of the codicil, I found Queen Emma there. She was in a state of great agitation and said "You are doing some writing for the King?" I said "Yes". "Why will not you help me?" Meaning that I should urge her claims to the succession. I told her I could not. She pressed me to do so, but I steadily refused. I said the King was too feeble to be troubled about it. He left no heir or successor

and on the 12th of February, Kalakaua was elected King by a vote of 39 to 6. The disappointment of the mob culminated in a riot which sacked the Court House and was only quelled by foreign troops landed from the "Portsmouth", "Tuscarora" and "Tenedos."

During Lunalilo's reign the work of the segregation of the lepers was begun again in earnest and great progress made in this work. The liquor traffic was much curtailed by vigorous prosecutions. The land office was well attended to, after great neglect during Kamehameha V's reign. It was also marked by a mutiny of the soldiers, whose rebellion was fomented by their own officers, and lead to a disbanding of all the army but the band. Lunalilo was a good King. He was truthful and loyal to his Ministers. He never broke a promise. He was utterly free from native superstitions and disliked the hula and all heathenish noises and practices. But for his one fault, which finally became a disease and caused his death, he might have lived long to be an honored and wise King, loving his people and caring more for their welfare than his own enjoyment or kingly state. He was mourned as no Hawaiian chief has been mourned since. His remains were taken to the Royal Mausoleum and when his tomb in Kawaiahao church yard was completed, his body was removed there in the midst of a thunder storm, a sharp report occurring just as the coffin entered the gate. The natives said this was heavenly recognition of the high rank of their beloved Alii.

He was the first Hawaiian who left his property to a benevolent object.

The Lunalilo Home is his monument.

May his kind heart never cease to be gratefully remembered and may his example in this respect have many imitators.

Honolulu, April 23, 1891 .

THE LEGEND OF KOKOIKI AND THE BIRTHDAY OF KAMEHAMEHA I

By DR. MAUD W. MAKEMSON,
Assistant Professor of Astronomy, Vassar College

According to modern legend, King Kamehameha, who first placed the Hawaiian islands under one sovereignty, was in his 83rd year when he died in 1819. Certain evidence indicates, however, that he may have been a much younger man. This evidence has already been summarized for the Hawaiian Historical Society. The following outgrowth from a study of Hawaiian astronomy may add some further information.

Ka Hoku o ke Kai (The Star of the Sea), a Hawaiian magazine which ran its brief course in 1885, published an "Ancient History of Hawaii" by Kanalu, containing, among other things, a legend relating to the appearance of a new or unusual heavenly body on the night preceding that on which Kamehameha was born. I have not seen the original Hawaiian article, but the account which appeared in three weekly numbers of the *Kuokoa Home Rula*, in April, 1909, may, if genuine, shed some illumination not only on the date of Kamehameha's advent, but also on his birthplace, which is also shrouded in mystery.

In this account, probably by the editors of *Home Rula*, occurs the following:

"Kokoiki. No name in English.

"Note—It is said that this star has been seen to rise on the preceding night when Kamehameha I was born (on a stormy night) in the month of November, 1736,¹ at Kokoiki, a place near the heiau or temple of Mookini, in the district of North Kohala, Hawaii. This star or planet passed directly, in a straight line, over this locality, Kokoiki, hence its name.

"This star, probably a planet, moves in a straight line from east to west. It is a bright, beautiful body. It is east of the constellation of Na Hiku (the seven stars) or the Dipper, and

¹ The original version had apparently been correlated with the works of such authorities as Alexander, Andrews, Bishop, Kamakau, and Fornander, to whom reference is made for the English equivalents of Hawaiian star names. The date November 1736, undoubtedly came from Kamakau and Fornander. (E.H.B., Jr.)

just north of Na Hoku Pa."

These paragraphs are part of a long and detailed account of Hawaiian stars and constellations according to the genealogy of Kanalu, said to be the most explicit account of Polynesian astronomy given by a native historian. It is ascribed to Kamohoula's method of astrology and astronomy. Then follows a reference to what appears to be an astronomical observation of Mars (Holoholopinaau) attributed to the year 1857. The whole article is illustrated with drawings of the configurations described in the text.

The alleged observation of the star Kokoiki is most interesting from the astronomical standpoint. While historians may be inclined to dismiss it as a statement fabricated a century later to enhance the glory of the great Kamehameha, and Hawaiians may interpret it as a supernatural omen, I am convinced that it is a true observation. The Polynesian astronomers or *kilohoku* watched the sky continuously for signs and portents. When a new scion of the chiefly house was born, it was customary to select a star rising in the east, which would be used in astrological predictions as to his fortunes, during this lifetime.

In the Chant of Hokuula (red star, also the name of a chief), quoted in the same astronomical account are the words:

"O Welehu ka malama,
Hanau kuu keiki,
Hanau ka Hokuula
O Hokuula."

"In the month of Welehu
My child was born;
Born was a star,
Hokuula by name."

Hoku alii or chiefs' stars formed one of the eight divisions of the heavenly bodies in the genealogy of Kanalu. A close approach of a planet to a chief's star was regarded as a momentous omen, as in the prophecy of the fall of the royal house of Kauai. It is probable that the infant Kamehameha would have had Sirius, the brightest of all stars, as arbiter of his destiny, since he was born in the fall, when Sirius is ascendent, had it not been for the appearance of an unusual luminary, which immediately marked his birth as of the utmost importance.

If the hypothesis of Kokoiki as a new or, at least, rare celestial body is accepted for the moment, we may then consider how the account and the drawing of its position among the stars were

preserved for a century by people who were unacquainted with the art of writing for at least half that period. The story must have been preserved in memory and disseminated through the regular channels from teacher to pupil, since it appears as part of a long dissertation on stars, planets and constellations. The drawing may have been preserved as a petroglyph. There is evidence of more than one astronomical petroglyph on the island of Hawaii, and it is not incredible that, if a new body appeared in the heavens, its advent would have been deemed of sufficient importance to be recorded in the only permanent medium available, a rock-picture.

In "Notes on Hawaiian Petroglyphs, I", published by Bishop Museum,² appears a drawing of an unmistakable astronomical petroglyph in Puna; and in the Hilo district, Mr. Rufus Lyman reported that on the Wailuku River, to the east of the "potholes", an old native had shown him marks which were intended to represent the sun, moon, and stars. At South Kohala two acres of rock closely covered with petroglyphs suggests that this was a time-honored place for recording events.

An analysis of the paragraphs relating to Kokoiki yields the following information:

(1) Kamehameha was born on a stormy night in late fall. Other legends bear out this statement.

(2) On the preceding night an unusual celestial object was seen to rise in the east and pass through the zenith of North Kohala, latitude about 20° North.

(3) It was situated north of Na Hoku Pa and east of Na Hiku.

(4) It was bright and beautiful.

(5) Its east to west motion led to its identification as a possible planet.

To pass through the zenith of any locality, a celestial object must be situated at the same angular distance (or declination) from the celestial equator as the latitude of the place on the earth from the terrestrial equator. The celestial Kokoiki, therefore must have possessed a declination of about 20 degrees north. It is obvious that the translator's interpretation of Na Hoku Pa ("the

² J. F. G. Stokes, Occasional Papers, B. P. Bishop Museum, IV: No. 4, 1910.

enclosed stars") as Leo, and Na Hiku ("the seven") as the Big Dipper is erroneous. An object north of Leo and east of the Dipper would have been half way between the equator and the north pole. Moreover, an object seen at the zenith before dawn must have risen before midnight, and in the month of November-December (the limits of Hawaiian months depend on the moon's phases and therefore did not necessarily coincide with our calendar months) only part of the Big Dipper is visible at midnight, and nothing east of it could have been seen.

It may be questioned whether it is correct to infer that the record refers to a new object in the sky. I believe that so detailed a description would not have been given if Kokoiki had been a familiar star or planet. New celestial bodies, conspicuous to the unaided eye usually fall into one of three classes. They may be novae or new stars, meteors, or comets.

New stars of great brilliance have appeared from time to time and were undoubtedly observed by the kilohoku. Kokoiki was not a nova, for, according to the evidence it "moves from east to west", that is, with respect to the stars. I think that orbital motion is meant here for two reasons: (1) Diurnal motion due to the rotation of the earth and shared by all heavenly bodies alike would have been taken for granted and not considered important enough to record; (2) the object was *thought to be a planet*, hence it must have possessed apparent motion among the stars. One might add two other considerations: the fact that it was seen to move in a straight line, which is not consistent with diurnal motion; and that its location was near the ecliptic.

The Hawaiians were familiar with the five naked-eye planets and kept track of their positions, since their notions with respect to the zodiacal stars were essential in the prognostications of events to come. Hoapili could tell the apparent place of the five planets at any time and claimed to have seen a sixth, possibly the minor planet Vesta. It is safe to conclude that Kokoiki was not a known planet, but its westward motion through the zodiac was so like those of Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn that it was associated with planets in the minds of the observers.

That Kokoiki was not a swift-moving meteor is obvious, since it was seen for a protracted time. Also, it would have been recognized by the Hawaiian astronomers as a meteor, and referred

to by the specific term, *hoku-lele*, or shooting star. In fact, I have no doubt that it was observed on many nights, since not otherwise would its planetary character have been remarked. The name Kokoiki found its way into other star lists than that of Kanalu. Liliuokalani, in her translation of the "Account of the Creation of the World" from original manuscripts said to have been handed down in her family for several generations, gives Kokoiki as the name of a heavenly body and translates it "little blood". It seems unlikely that Kokoiki would be found in the principal star lists if it had been seen for only one night, or if it were a figment of the imagination or was regarded as an entirely supernatural apparition.

The name Kokoiki irresistibly suggests the appearance of a comet, as they are often described as blood-red in color before proximity to the sun brings out the golden yellow of sodium. One of the definitions of *koko* in Andrews' Dictionary is "falling rain where the light shines through it and it appears reddish", suggesting the misty transparency of a distant comet. Let us see if there is a possibility of identifying Kokoiki with any comet. There was no comet in 1736. The three outstanding comets of the first part of the 18th century appeared in 1729, 1744, and 1758-59. The comet of 1744, shortly after its discovery in Holland, developed two conspicuous tails; it even being reported that it had six for a time. The comet of 1758-59 was the predicted return of Halley's Comet.

Halley's Comet, which has figured in legend as an omen of great and terrible events more than any other celestial body, passed the sun in March, 1759. Before perihelion passage it was, so far as we know, first observed on Christmas eve, 1758, in Germany. There is a story that it was found by an amateur astronomer, a farmer, with the unaided eye, while all the astronomers of Europe were vainly searching for it with their telescopes.

With the best orbital elements available for that period, I computed the position of Halley's Comet for every fifteen days from October 17 to December 1, 1758, and plotted them on a star chart. The place on December 1 forms a configuration with neighboring stars almost exactly like that in the illustration in Kuokoa Home Rula. No Hoku Pa thus becomes the part of Cetus north of the celestial equator, and the slightly curved, single line of stars, called

Na Hiku, becomes a line through Aries, Pisces, and part of Cetus (Mira). The resemblance to the drawing is too close to be dismissed as an accident or coincidence. There is one corroborative detail yet to be mentioned: a few paragraphs further the statement is made that the Pa stars are sometimes paralleled with those of Humu and several others. I mention Humu particularly because authorities seem to agree that Humu is Altair (Alpha Aquilae) and its two attendants. The word "paralleled" signifies that the stars lie along the same diurnal path or, as the Hawaiians would say "highway", that is, declination circle. The stars Xi², Xi¹, and Mu Ceti have declinations of 8°, 8°.5 and 9°.8 respectively, while that of Altair is 8°.7 north of the celestial equator. Hence, this group in Cetus traverses approximately the same diurnal path through the heavens as Altair and its neighboring stars. The curve of the sickle of Leo (by some called Na Hoku Pa), on the other hand, lies between declinations 12° (Regulus) and 26° north. We may accordingly conclude from this evidence that Na Hoku Pa is here the Hawaiian name for the "head of Cetus", and does not belong to Leo.

The computed positions for Halley's Comet for the period under consideration are given below:

<i>Date</i>	<i>right ascension</i>	<i>declina- tion</i>	<i>distance from the earth</i>
1758, October 17, 5 hrs. 46 mins.		+18°	1.9 astronomical units
November 1, 5	18	18	1.5 " "
November 16, 4	17	17	1.2 " "
December 1, 2	53	14	1.0 " "

(An astronomical unit is the mean distance of the earth from the sun, 93,000,000 miles.)

This tabulation shows that the comet was moving from east to west; that it was nearly over head in the latitude of Kohala, Hawaii; and that it was coming toward the earth and the sun, since the distance, at first nearly twice the distance to the sun from the earth, was rapidly decreasing. Since the comet was approaching the earth and sun its tail would have been behind it and therefore invisible; which would account for its not being recognized as a comet by the Hawaiian astronomers.

One discrepancy in the Kuokoa Home Rula's illustration should be noted, although it is so obviously a mistake it cannot be considered of much importance. In the drawing of the constellations of Na Hoku Pa and Na Hiku, the position of Kokoiki, as described in the text, is labelled Holoholo. Since Holoholo is the planet referred to in the record of the observation made in 1857 and has no connection whatever with the constellations of the drawing, the designation in the latter must be ascribed to carelessness on the part of the artist, and has no bearing on the argument.

From all these considerations, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the keen-visioned kilohoku, sweeping the sky vigilantly from their temple platform in North Kohala, in the crystal atmosphere of a tropic night, caught sight of a new object in the familiar configurations of the stars, which appears to have been Halley's Comet. And that, through the accuracy of the account which they gave and which has come down by word of mouth, perhaps even by rock carving, to the printed page, we are now able to suggest a date for the birth of Kamehameha the Great, namely November-December, 1758, which curiously enough agrees with evidence from other lines of historical research.

KOLOA: A SKETCH OF ITS DEVELOPMENT

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Read before the Kauai Historical Society, May 31, 1935

The land of Koloa in the southeastern corner of the island of Kauai comprises but a small part of the total area of the Territory of Hawaii; yet its story occupies a significant place in the development of these islands. Koloa's history is remarkable for the number of business ventures attempted there which were new to Hawaii. Many of them, though not all, were successful and, with the knowledge gained at Koloa, were tried at other localities. No other place presents the interesting picture of a mission station and an agricultural enterprise starting within the same year, progressing side by side and each helping the other to develop.

The story must of necessity be incomplete, for a careful study of the available material shows many gaps which are not likely ever to be filled at this late date. If this paper stresses the story of the mission, it is because the records kept by the missionaries have been preserved consecutively in large measure, while the history of Koloa's commercial development must be pieced together from many sources. Furthermore the story of the sugar plantation at Koloa is being written for the centenary to be celebrated next July, so there is no need to anticipate these details at this time.

Today, under the territorial government, Koloa is one of the five districts in the county of Kauai. It is an irregular triangle with the base extending along the seacoast from Kipukai on the east to Hanapepe on the west and into the center of the island from these two points. This political district includes the *ili* of Elele on the west and the *ahupuaa* of Mahaulepu on the east. Within this area are the familiar names of the old ahupuaas of Wahiawa, Kalaheo, Lawai and Koloa, and the almost forgotten ahupuaas of Weliweli and Paa, but this paper is concerned most particularly with the land in the vicinity of the settlement of Koloa.

The present day Koloa has much to arouse the curiosity of anyone interested in the history of Hawaii. The tall trees shading the winding roads, the old stone walls, the ruins of the old mill, the plantation office, part of which was built about 1840 for the home of the superintendent, all give evidence that Koloa's story is one that dates back to the early development of these islands.

Koloa is, and always has been, a delightful place, with a natural situation that has made it a most charming spot. The line of hills against the skyline is broken only by the gap on the way to Lihue. These hills, while protecting the lowlands from the trade winds that blow across the island, attract enough rain clouds to insure the water supply. From the base of the hills the land slopes towards the sea in a series of huge natural terraces, which at the lower levels are very rocky although covered with a thick growth of lantana, *koa haole* and some cactus. In the upper levels the soil varies in fertility to such an extent that the different cane fields vary greatly in their yield of sugar per acre. There are several interesting volcanic cones, three of which, at least, have a close connection with Koloa's past. On the slopes of Puu o Hewa, the hill on the Lawai side of the road to Lihue, may be seen the marks of an ancient *holua* slide. On the other side of the road almost opposite Puu o Hewa are two companion hills known as Mauna Kilika. The name is all that survives of an attempt to cultivate silk on this site nearly a century ago.

Much of Koloa's story in legend centers around Maulili pool in Waikomo stream. This was a favorite haunt of old and young in the days of clean and abundant water, according to J. K. Farley, in whose short article in Thrum's Annual for 1907 are found notes on the legends about the pool. This sacred place of olden time may be located today a few hundred feet south of the bridge on the Maulili road at the point where the Waikomo stream divides to form a small island. The underbrush has been cleared away, revealing the foundations of the sugar mill that Ladd & Co. erected on the site in the late 1830's.

Many of the boulders near the pool have names and special stories attached to them. On the eastern side is "Pali o Koloa," from which, some say, the district gets its name. Below this drop is the rock "Waihanau" or "Birth Pool," its meaning lost in antiquity. And to the south, protrudes a smooth boulder aptly

called "Ke elelo o ka Hawaii" or "the tongue of Hawaii." The Kauai warrior Kawelo of Wailua is credited with the feat of forcibly removing this stone thither from the island of Hawaii. Tales are also told of the large dragon or "moo" called "Kiha-wahine" who lived in the pool and of the two gods, Kane and Kanaloa, who sleeping one night near the Pali o Koloa, left in the rocks the permanent impression of their bodies.

In the old days two large auwais or ditches left the southern end of the Maulili pool to supply the taro patches to the east and west. On the kuaunas or embankments the natives grew bananas and sugar cane for convenience in irrigating. Along the coast they had fish ponds and salt pans, ruins of which are still to be seen. Their dry land farming was done on the *kula*, where they raised sweet potatoes, of which both the tubers and the leaves were good to eat. The Hawaiians planted *pia* (arrowroot) as well as *wauke* (mulberry) in patches in the hills wherever they would grow naturally with but little cultivation. In the uplands they also gathered the leaves of the *hala* for mats and the nuts of the *kukui* for light.

The population of Koloa, during the height of the native regime, must have been several thousand. The number of skeletons found in the burial sands along the coast support this estimate, as do the number and size of the heiaus in the district. T. G. Thrum, in his investigation of heiaus on Kauai in 1907 reported four in the vicinity of Koloa, two of which were of considerable size.

By 1834 the population, decimated by native wars and by constant shifting about of the people, had shrunk to 2166. This is the number of the inhabitants of Koloa district given by the American missionaries in a report to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in answer to a circular sent out by the Board in March 1833.

Although the district had a large population, there was no formal grouping of houses to constitute a village. The grass huts were scattered along the main streams and the auwais leading from them. The harbor, little more than a cove, did not attract sailing vessels which invariably continued on to Waimea, with its safer anchorage. This fact explains the lack of descriptions of Koloa before white men settled there. To be sure the American mission

had maintained a school in the place for a number of years (the exact date of its start has not been found) but no record has been discovered of any white man living at Koloa before the Rev. Peter Johnson Gulick brought his family there on the last day of December 1834.*

The Gulicks had spent the six years since their arrival in Hawaii at Waimea, Kauai. That station, which had been established by Mr. Whitney in 1820, remained the only station on Kauai for fourteen years. Then, at the general meeting of the American mission held at Honolulu, during the summer of 1834, it was decided to start two new stations on Kauai—one at Waioli and the other at Koloa in order to distribute more evenly the work of the mission.

Mr. Alexander, assigned to Waioli, was able to settle there by the end of the summer, but a series of delays prevented Mr. Gulick from going to Koloa until the last of the year.

The Gulicks with their four small sons made the trip from Waimea to Koloa in three hours in one of the Governor's double canoes. It is recorded that they had "a pleasant passage" but Mr. Gulick, whose health was poor at the time, admitted that he was nearly exhausted by the moving and the preparation of his new home. With no carpenter to help him in his weak physical condition, he had to erect partitions in the grass houses built by the natives, as well as put in the doors and windows.

Most of the story of the Koloa mission during Mr. Gulick's stay is found in letters which he wrote to Levi Chamberlain, E. O. Hall and S. N. Castle, the secular agents in Honolulu. The originals in manuscript are kept in the vault of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society in Honolulu but typewritten copies have recently been made for a private library on Kauai.

By the middle of January 1835, the Hawaiians had begun to build a grass house to be used as a church and school. But the work was soon halted for preparations to welcome the king who was on an inspection tour of the island.

Two American naturalists, John K. Townsend and Thomas Nuttall by name, were staying at Koloa, collecting specimens.

* Since the above was written reference to a Spaniard in the retinue of Gov. Kaikioewa at Koloa has been found in Samuel Whitney's journal of a tour around Kauai in 1826. (In *Missionary Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 395 at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library).

They had been members of Nathaniel Wyeth's second expedition to Oregon in 1834, and were spending several months in Hawaii. While at Koloa the two scientists lived in a large grass house lent to them by the king and ate their meals with the Gulicks. The king, however, returning to Koloa to wait for the vessel to be sent to take him back to Oahu, asked the two foreigners to leave and they moved to the Gulicks.

Townsend's account gives a picture of the excitement caused by the king's visit, and the complete disruption of the ordinary life of the community:

In the afternoon, the natives from all parts of the island began to flock to the king's temporary residence. The petty chiefs, and head men of the villages, were mounted upon all sorts of horses, from the high-headed and high-mettled California steed, to the shaggy and diminutive poney [sic] raised on their native hills; men, women and children were running on foot, laden with pigs, calabashes of poe [sic], and every production of the soil; and though last, certainly not least, in the evening there came the troops of the island, with fife and drum, and 'tinkling cymbal' to form a body guard for his majesty, the king. Little houses were put up all around the vicinity, and thatched in an incredibly short space of time, and when Mr. Nuttall, and myself visited the royal mansion, after nightfall, we found the whole neighborhood metamorphosed; a beautiful little village had sprung up as by magic, and the retired studio of the naturalists had been transformed into a royal banquet hall. . . .

Early one morning about a week later, the king left for Oahu, and by noon, "the spot, which the day before had swarmed with hundreds of natives, was silent and untenanted."

The meeting house, about 60 by 30 feet in size, was finished in April, and the dedication was planned to take place on the tenth. Unfortunately that morning the Gulick's cook-house caught fire and the flames quickly spread to their thatched dwelling house nearby. Nearly everything in the kitchen was lost, food, furniture and supplies, but most of the goods in the dwelling house were saved. The Gulicks lived in the meeting house until their new houses were built, which took the natives about a week to finish. It is said that the fire was caused by one of the Hawaiian women in the Gulick household, who left her lighted pipe near the highly inflammable thatch.

At last, the meeting house was dedicated on the first of May and two days later, a church was formally organized with twelve members transferred from the Waimea Church and with Mr. Gulick as pastor. Mr. Whitney came from Waimea to assist in the ceremony.

Mr. Gulick now plunged into the business of building a more permanent house for his family. The site he chose may be located today in the grounds of the present Koloa parsonage, shaded by a magnificent old tamarind tree. In August Mr. Gulick wrote to Levi Chamberlain with confidence that unless the workmen disappointed him, the dwelling house would be finished in about three months and the cook house a little later. He said:

Our house is to be 22 feet by 44 inside. About 4 feet of the cellar of lava or rough stone, the remainder of dobies two feet thick; the walls to be seventeen feet from the foundation to the top. One room in the cellar, 16 feet by 22, to be plastered and all the upper story. Our cooking house, which should go up while the carpenter is laying floors etc. in the dwelling house, is to be fourteen feet by twenty, inside. Walls of dobies 15-1/2 feet high and 2 feet thick. Both rooms, Viz. above and below, to be plastered.

Sept. 25, 1835

In consequence of having a good cellar, our house will stand nearly four feet about the level of the surrounding earth; hence we shall be obliged to have a little stairs or flight of steps up to each outside door; & they are 4 in all.

This was a definitely planned program but Mr. Gulick could not foresee the many delays that would prevent its completion until the following summer. Quotations from his letters to Mr. Chamberlain tell the story of discouragements without complaint.

Oct. 27, 1835

Thank you for the brick. Tho' it is now quite doubtful whether we shall be able to use them soon. Last Wednesday the masons tho't to finish our dwelling house but the rain began that morn. & we have not been able to do anything at the walls since. And several hundred dobies that lay exposed to the rain are chiefly ruined . . . But as matters now stand, if the roof is not soon on, we may have all our work to do over again . . . We hope to have the roof on by the 6th of Nov. . . .

Dec. 29, 1835

With regard to wants in building you must be very *patient* with me; for I am obliged to be so with others, or be very unhappy. Antone who now works for me has been very crooked of late. Denies his agreements, wastes times in fair weather &c. But we hope the walls will be up again the last of this week or first of next; & very soon have a roof on. This done we shall not be in a *hurry* to employ him or Manuel again . . .

Feb. 25, 1836

Now again for floor boards. My carp'r is quite out of humor; says I have the refuse of every kind. Tho' I don't think this is the case, nor feel at all like blaming you; as I have no doubt of your impartiality in distributing to the Mission; yet I think we have had poor & rough boards. And both the carp'r & Dedmund, say the boards last sent; are so crooked, they cannot be matched; & as one room for which they were designed, is over my study, it is necessary that floor be tight, which it will not be unless matched. I request therefore that you will

send me as early as practicable 500 feet of good pine boards. A part of these I shall need for doors, cupboards &c. . . .

Mar. 28, 1836.

Should not the stormy weather prevent, our house, excepting my study in the cellar could be ready for the painter this week. But the gale of two weeks continues, & it is now very rainy; not fit to land my boards that the carp'r work may be finished.

Apr. 11, 1836

. . . . We expect to build, before Gen'l Meeting, a bedroom 15 feet by 20 in the clear, for wh. I shall need flooring. The boards I have on hand will be needed about our cook house.

Aug. 16, 1836

The walls of our cooking house are up, & we hope in two weeks, to have the roof on. Dedmund will do the work, unless you should send me a carpenter.

After this careful record of the building of the house, it is tantalizing not to have found the date when the Gulick family moved into their new home.

There was another reason why Mr. Gulick encountered so many difficulties in building at this time. In September 1835, just as Mr. Gulick was beginning to build, the Hawaiians were distracted by the start of Ladd & Co.'s sugar plantation at Koloa. This was a mercantile concern of Honolulu, which was seeking ways of expanding its business in Hawaii. After considerable difficulty and largely because of their personal integrity, the partners, William Ladd, Peter Allan Brinsmade and William Hooper, were able to persuade the king and chiefs in July to lease them nearly a thousand acres at Koloa for fifty years at \$300.00 a year. The partners felt, that in selecting Koloa, they had found a location for their experiment that would be free from the usual disturbing influences of a seaport town.

The lease allowed the use of the waterfall and an adjoining mill site at Maulili pool, not far from the thousand acres, together with the right to build roads, the privilege of unrestricted buying and selling and freedom from local harbor dues.

The company was permitted to hire natives to work on the plantation provided they paid Kauikeaouli, the king, and Kai-kioewa, the governor of Kauai, a tax for each man employed and paid the men satisfactory wages. The workers were to be exempt from all taxation except the tax paid by their employers.

In order to fully understand the significance of this agreement it is necessary to recall the social and economic order at that time.

The king was supreme. His wish was law. He owned all the land and everything on it. The chiefs were allotted certain lands which they held at the king's pleasure and which they in turn divided among their petty chiefs. The common people were no more than serfs with no property rights whatever. They had no incentive to better their condition because the chiefs compelled them to work a certain number of days without pay and took whatever they fancied from the commoner's house or land. The foreigners who occupied lands did not own them in fee simple either, although in some cases they thought they did. There was much confusion as a result and there would have been more had not the land been divided by the Mahele in 1848.

The significance of Ladd & Co.'s lease lay in the fact that it was the first public admission by the Hawaiian chiefs that their subjects had rights of personal property backed with a guaranty of protection of that property. It was regarded by many at the time as the entering wedge that would eventually overthrow the old system of absolute rule, and as such was vigorously resisted by some of the old chiefs who did not wish to loosen their arbitrary hold on the natives. The king, the more intelligent chiefs and the American missionaries regarded it as a step towards advancing civilization in Hawaii.

Great difficulties faced Mr. Hooper when he arrived at Koloa in the late summer of 1835, to begin work on the new plantation. Aside from the lack of farming implements in a new country, Mr. Hooper had to overcome the determined opposition of the local chiefs, whose power was measured by the number of natives in their control. Naturally they did not wish to yield their authority without a struggle, and devised ingenious ways to annoy and discourage Mr. Hooper. For a time it is said they even placed armed guards around Hooper's house to prevent the natives from coming within speaking distance. Mr. Hooper was obliged to appeal directly to the king for intervention before this opposition was overcome. Finally some two or three dozen natives were hired but as they proved to be the scum of the island, more than half had to be released for various misdemeanors. The men that remained were assigned houses with land which they could cultivate for their own benefit on Saturdays. Some stragglers apparently without masters were hired and proved to be valuable

workers. Day laborers were also employed. The men worked from sunrise to sunset, with time out for their meals, which consisted of fish and poi. All were paid $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents a day and food, considered equal to a dollar a day in the United States at the time. There was a scarcity of small coins so Ladd & Co. issued currency which was redeemable at the plantation store in merchandise. This currency or one similar to it was used on Kauai for more than ten years and was worth about fifty cents on the dollar.

In September 1835 twelve acres of land were cleared for cultivation. The ground was broken by a plough drawn by forty natives, since at that time there were no teams of oxen on the island. To the Rev. Mr. Gulick goes the credit of breaking and driving the first pair of oxen on Kauai. It is said that the natives were much astonished at the sight of cattle being used in this way.

By the end of the first year distinct progress had been made on the plantation. A house for the superintendent had been erected as well as twenty houses for native workers, a carpenter shop and a blacksmith shop. A dam had been constructed to supply the water power for the sugar mill, also completed. Twenty-five acres had been planted in sugar cane, forty-eight taro patches made, and several thousand fruit trees set out.

Mr. Hooper in reviewing the year's work recorded that he had more difficulties than he would have thought possible for a white man to bear. He was certain that the plan he had developed with the native labor would, if carried on by other foreigners, result in bringing nation-wide prosperity to the kingdom.

The first crop of cane yielded molasses only but the next year brown sugar was obtained, though of a poor quality. The first mill, a primitive wooden affair, was unsatisfactory, so it was replaced by a more elaborate iron mill on the same site at Maulili in 1838. A third mill was built in 1841 on the Waihohonu stream at the junction of the Waimea road, where the old chimney still stands as a monument to the past. Although the quantity of the sugar produced increased, the quality remained poor until new methods of manufacture were introduced about 1842 by M. Prevost, a Frenchman, later identified with Lihue Plantation.

Besides producing sugar from cane grown on their own land, Ladd & Co. made contracts to grind the cane of private individuals, both Hawaiians and foreigners. Each person's crop received pay-

ment according to its percentage of the total amount handled by Ladd & Co. Industry was stimulated among all classes by this arrangement. The king and chiefs, the common people and foreigners alike entered enthusiastically into the new enterprise which promised them definite rewards soon.

Within two years Koloa was changed into a thriving commercial center. James Jackson Jarves, who is mentioned again in this paper, wrote a description of Koloa in 1837, which was published in the *Hawaiian Spectator* for January 1838 and has been used too often to be quoted verbatim here. Jarves produced a vivid picture of the great activity of market day each Saturday morning and contrasted it with the extreme quiet of Sunday which he felt was due to the influence of the mission of three years standing. Comment must be made that the old tabu days were observed just as strictly.

The spirit of industry resulting from the success of the agricultural venture soon spread to religious matters. In the summer of 1836 the natives began the construction of an adobe meeting house to be used for a church and school. It was no small task that faced them, for the building was to be a huge affair for that type of construction—ninety-five by forty feet inside, with a *lanai* eight feet wide on all sides, and capable of holding about fifteen hundred people. But the Hawaiians, trained through generations under the command of their chiefs, were capable of accomplishing large undertakings when they worked in groups with competent leadership, so although they knew little about the new method of construction before them, they bent their energies as of old. Some went into the mountains to cut and haul the large logs necessary for the rafters. Others went to the sea coast for lime and sand. Still others made the hundreds of unwieldy adobe bricks needed for the walls.

Mr. Gulick's letters during this period to the secular agents in Honolulu, contained much information about the building. There was the incident of the ox-cart borrowed from Mr. Whitney, which had to be returned. Mr. Gulick protested that the lack of a cart would seriously delay the work at his station. He did not think it right to ask the natives to carry heavy blocks of coral, and sand in all manner of containers, two or three miles on their shoulders. Also, his carefully trained yoke of oxen

could be used to better advantage if they had a cart to draw. The matter was finally settled by sending the wheels, axeltree and iron for the tongue from Honolulu, and Mr. Gulick's building a new cart at Koloa.

After the walls of the church were half way up, the rains began and stopped all work for weeks. The adobe bricks, made of well-kneaded mud and chopped grass dried in the sun, were ruined, and this work had to be done over. Finally in July of 1837, Mr. Gulick, upon returning from a visit to Honolulu, was agreeably surprised to find the roof on the meeting house at last and the carpenter's work nearly done.

The walls were now ready to be plastered with lime, made from burned coral. Mr. Gulick's letters of this period have many references to the goat's hair necessary for holding the plaster together. Mr. Whitney had the goat's hair that Mr. Gulick wanted but had promised it to Mr. Chamberlain in Honolulu. Just what the outcome of this controversy was, Mr. Gulick failed to state but the goat's hair or a substitute must have been found for the meeting house was completed early that winter. Its gleaming white walls were a landmark for miles around and were visible far out at sea.

The Hawaiians were proud, as well they might have been, of their new church with its glass windows on three sides and lattice-work on the fourth. They flocked to attend services and the congregation usually numbered from nine to fifteen hundred. The dedication on Thursday the twenty-third of November 1837 was an event and was followed by a protracted meeting which lasted for the next four days. Mr. Whitney and Mr. Alexander assisted Mr. Gulick and nine people were admitted into the Church. Thirty-one others were accepted on probation. Within the next year fifty-one joined the church which increased the membership to 125.

Mr. Gulick's report for 1838 commented on the financial side of the undertaking. He wrote:

We feel a pleasure in stating that the whole labor was performed, & the *expense bore*[sic], without the least aid from other islands, & with but little comparatively, (would that I could say *none*) from the neighboring congregations. Mr. Hooper contributed \$20.00—Mr. Peck, \$10.00, & Mr. Dedmund a week's labor in carpenter's work.

The ability of the Hawaiians to pay for their new church was

directly due to the success of Ladd & Co.'s commercial efforts. Although the natives received comparatively little in actual money for their work, that little was sufficient to make a decided improvement in their condition. They were able to buy foreign clothes and contribute something to their church. Visitors to Koloa at this time remarked on the prosperous appearance of the place. James Jackson Jarves observed that nowhere else in the Islands were "the good effects of foreign capital united with native industry" more noticeable.

The success of Ladd & Co. drew other white men with independent capital to Koloa to try their own efforts at making a profit in agriculture. The most ambitious attempt was made by Charles Titcomb and Sherman Peck. In 1836 they leased about 300 acres from Ladd & Co. and proceeded to experiment in silk culture. Later they were joined by James Jackson Jarves and J. F. B. Marshall, two men well-known in Hawaiian history. The partners were all young, energetic men determined to spare no money or effort to make the enterprise a success. They planted thousands of mulberry trees, both native and foreign varieties, to be sure of a continuous supply of leaves as food for the silk worms, which were imported from China and America. The mulberry trees were planted in rows ten feet apart and two feet separate in the row. It was found that the trees after being plucked took but a short six weeks to leaf out again so completely that they could not be told from the ones that had not been stripped.

Thus encouraged the owners began to feed the mulberry leaves to the silk worms in quantity. They soon discovered the two kinds of worms had distinct characteristics. The Chinese variety spun a fine grade of silk but wasted too large a proportion in floss. The American worm hatched very irregularly. Some took ten days, others ten months. Experiments were made to test the effects of a colder climate by carrying the eggs to the mountains and leaving them there for several months, in bottles. Unfortunately the eggs were imperfectly packed, so that most of them were spoiled. Those that did hatch developed into fine cocoons, averaging about four thousand to the pound of raw silk. Next, the American worm was crossed with the Chinese worm successfully but the resulting worm, when crossed with the

American variety had too many characteristics of American to be of use.

Mr. Peck spent the winter of 1838-39 in New England to learn more about the silk business. He also bought machinery for reeling by steam and engaged "a family of three persons" to superintend the cocooneries and to teach the natives to reel silk. At this time, because of the mild climate at Koloa and the cheapness of labor and buildings, the outlook was so favorable that Mr. Peck could have sold the business at a two hundred per cent profit.

The preliminary experimentation had been so promising that ultimate success seemed certain. Another company was formed in 1839, by John Stetson who had as his associates Asa Rogers and James Lindsey. These men made an agreement with Ladd & Co. for a sub-lease of 150 acres bounded on the south by Waihothonu stream. Ladd & Co. supplied \$5,000. as capital and owned a quarter interest in the new concern, while Stetson, Rogers and Lindsey each owned a quarter.

The next year, 1840, was expected to be a banner year and to show profits which would fully pay for the investments made. But it proved otherwise. An extreme drought followed by continued high winds killed the mulberry trees. A heavy financial loss resulted. This reverse on top of previous set-backs was too much for Peck and Company, who had over-expanded. Mr. Peck left for Lahaina in 1841, to enter business there. After five years of success, he went to the United States but returned to Hawaii in 1859 as senior partner of C. Brewer & Company. Mr. Titcomb stayed on at Koloa, for a number of months and did not abandon his efforts until his entire crop of silkworms was lost by a disease aggravated by wet weather. He then moved to Hanalei, where he had been conducting experiments for some time. Later, after losing several thousand dollars, in the enterprise, he turned his attention to growing coffee. Stetson and Company continued at Koloa, until the end of 1842 when they, also, were forced to admit failure.

There were other attempts to raise agricultural products commercially. In 1841 a Mr. D. H. Goodale began to produce oil from kukui nuts. This Mr. Goodale apparently was not related to Warren Goodale who came to Kauai some ten years later. D. H. Goodale formed a partnership with Ladd & Co. to last for

three years, each agreeing to advance \$2,250. for capital. Under the arrangement Goodale was to devote his entire time to the project and in return receive a salary and be allowed a house and provisions for himself and family. Ladd & Co. was to have sole disposition of the oil and to be allowed their usual commissions. The site of this experiment has not been located more definitely than that it was beyond Mr. Tobey's plantation on the way to Lihue, and probably on Ladd & Co.'s land near the growth of kukui trees in the hills.

Following the precedence set by Ladd & Co., Goodale paid his native laborers by the day. At four o'clock each day when their work was done, the men had ground and pressed out fifty gallons of oil. Apparently it was Goodale's desire to manufacture a new paint oil but his product proved inferior to linseed oil, for he soon faded out of the picture and nothing more has been learned about him. But some forty-five years later, his widow returned to Honolulu, to spend her last days with her daughter, Mrs. Wolfe, whose husband had a grocery and grain store on King Street in Honolulu.

Perhaps the strangest agricultural effort at Koloa, was the attempt to raise sago by sowing the commercial product as seed. This, of course, came to nothing but for years an enclosure near Mauna Kilika was pointed out to visitors as the place where the experiment was made. These facts were recorded by Chester Lyman in his *Hawaiian journals* and remain today an oral tradition among the older folk on Kauai.

The manufacture of cigars at Koloa was tried in 1853 by J. R. Opitz who had had a tobacco plantation at Mana for some years. It is not clear whether or not the tobacco was raised at Koloa.

Tapioca was manufactured at Koloa during the 1860's from cassava root and placed on the market in Honolulu. Not much is known about this effort, although it is recorded that H. B. Hollister and Mr. Charman had plantations and mills in successful operation at Koloa.

Until 1837 Kauai had no resident doctor, so if an illness did not yield to the usual household remedies, a message had to be sent to Honolulu for help. Then if a doctor were free, he took passage on a vessel bound for Kauai, where if the weather permitted he might expect to land within two or three days. Con-

sequently there was general satisfaction when it was learned that Dr. Lafon, soon to arrive in the seventh reinforcement of missionaries, had been assigned to Kauai, the exact station to be determined by the brethren of that island. Mr. Gulick in his letters to Mr. Chamberlain pled to have the doctor at Koloa, where he would be in the best position to serve the whole island. Mr. Gulick's own health was so poor that he had been able to do little actual missionary work and he felt keenly the need of assistance. Lafon was an ordained minister as well as a physician. The *konohiki* or head man at Koloa offered to help in building the doctor a house and Ladd and Hopper promised to pay him for any professional services given their plantation workers. Probably in answer to Mr. Gulick's sound arguments, the Kauai missionaries voted that Dr. Lafon be located at Koloa.

He and his wife had arrived in Honolulu on April 9, 1837 on the *Mary Frazier* in the largest company of missionaries ever sent out by the American Board. For the next six months Dr. Lafon was busy professionally on Maui and Molokai, so it was not until October twelfth that he and his wife reached Koloa.

Their furniture and personal effects shipped ahead to await their arrival, met disaster at the landing. The small ship's boat, overloaded by the careless and disobedient crew, was tipped over in the surf by a high wind. Luckily the accident occurred close to shore but three large boxes and a bureau were thoroughly soaked before they could be hauled out of the water. Mr. Gulick, who was at the landing to supervise the unloading, and his wife hurriedly opened the boxes to spread their contents to dry on the rocks. The bureau drawers jammed and the Gulicks were at a loss until the helpful suggestion was made to open the bureau by taking off the back. Mr. Gulick noted that the Lafons would need much patience "to feel that this occurrence is among 'all things' that are to work together for their good."

The Lafons began their new duties enthusiastically. The doctor preached in English every Sunday at his own house or at the Gulick's and after five months of study was able to preach in Hawaiian. He and his wife conducted a school for native children but were handicapped by lack of helpers and by frequent demands for his professional services. In 1840 the doctor leased thirteen acres of land from the king for twenty-five years. This land

was located on the Lawai side of the Omao stream near the mill. The doctor grew sugar cane there and sold it to Ladd & Co. His profits, if any, could not have been large, for there is no record of Dr. Lafon as a wealthy man.

In 1840 the Lafons moved to Lihue in order to serve the large native population there. They made an auspicious start with church and school which was observed and favorably commented upon by the officers of the United States Exploring Expedition under Charles Wilkes. After a few months the Lafons both developed inflamed eyes which kept them some weeks in darkened rooms and as Mrs. Lafon's general health continued to be so poor that she could not be left alone, they returned to Koloa.

Dr. Lafon was one of the most forceful and brilliant men in the mission. He was genuinely liked by his associates, although he did not agree with all their policies. The Gulicks in proof of their friendship named their seventh son, born at Koloa in 1839, Thomas Lafon. The doctor was a staunch believer in the abolition of slavery, which question was even then beginning to arise in the United States. His criticism of the missionaries for not paying their servants wages, although the servants were envied for their advantages and position, resulted in the payment of wages to them. The doctor also felt keenly the restrictions imposed on the members of the mission by the American Board in regard to writing for publication. After a correspondence lasting nearly three years, for the Board recognized his ability and did not wish to lose him, his request to be released by the Board was granted June 22, 1841. The Lafons left Koloa the following April and after attending the mission families at Hilo for some months, they sailed for New England in October of 1842, on the ship *Zephyr*, Captain Gardner.

The Rev. Reuben Tinker was another able missionary who did not agree with all the regulations of the American Board. His ideas were even more liberal than Dr. Lafon's. In addition to agreeing with the doctor in the matter of writing for publication, Mr. Tinker felt that he should be free to change his station or to visit the United States as he wished. It was his desire to become an independent missionary by supporting himself and his family and so be free of the regulations of the Board. Accordingly he sent in his resignation under date of April 25, 1838. While

waiting for the long months to pass before obtaining an answer, he established himself at Koloa. In this community he knew he could carry out his plans.

Making an agreement for a house and land together with a contract to sell sugar cane to Ladd & Co. on shares, Tinker took his family to Koloa early in July. Here he preached regularly, grew his sugar cane and edited *The Hawaiian Spectator*, a quarterly magazine of literary merit printed at the mission press in Honolulu. As Tinker's real interests and abilities were intellectual, he made a better preacher and editor than a farmer. But gradually it became obvious that the forces against the *Hawaiian Spectator* were too strong. It was discontinued after its issue for October 1839. Tinker in a letter to Levi Chamberlain in December of that year gave the following reasons why he had to stop publication: "One hundred miles from the press; weak eyes; poor brains; little faith and no money—unpropitiary conditions truly for the Editor of a quarterly."

Meanwhile the American Board refused to release Tinker without further correspondence, in the belief that he labored "under a misapprehension of facts;" but as an extended correspondence failed to change Mr. Tinker's views, his resignation was at last accepted sometime during the year previous to September 1840. On October third, the Tinkers with their five young children, left Koloa for the Atlantic Coast on the *William Penn*. The master, Captain Bodfish, had generously agreed to give them a free passage. Luther Halsey, the Gulick's oldest son, then twelve years old, sailed with the Tinkers on his way for further education in New England.

The problem of their children's schooling had long bothered the Gulicks. With the exception of Halsey who had spent a year in Honolulu at school, the young Gulick boys, except for a few weeks' instruction each year during General Meeting, had not attended a regular school until 1840 when from July twentieth of that year to the following April, Miss Marcia Smith conducted a school at Koloa. The two oldest Alexander boys came from Waioli to attend, also. Highly as the Gulicks valued this privilege for their children, their wish to have it continued was not granted. The mission families in Honolulu clamored for Miss Smith's return that their children's education might not be neglected, and

the weight of superior numbers was on their side. As has been previously mentioned, Halsey Gulick had left for New England with the Tinkers, so his education was provided for, but the problem of the other sons still remained. It was settled by Mrs. Gulick's staying in Honolulu, after the General Meeting in 1841, with her six boys, and Mr. Gulick's returning to Koloa to spend a lonely year by himself.

At the next General Meeting in 1842, the brethren voted to locate Mr. Gulick on Oahu as an evangelist, so that his family might be together again. The following year he was stationed at Kaluaaha on Molokai and in the late summer of 1843 the Gulicks spent a few weeks at Koloa to pack up the last of their possessions for the move.

During the next four years there was no regular pastor of the church at Koloa, although W. P. Alexander, Samuel Whitney and G. B. Rowell at different times served the church temporarily.

Dr. James William Smith and his wife, Melicent Knapp Smith, were the next missionaries to be stationed at Koloa after the Gulicks. Dr. Smith had attended the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons and practiced medicine for five years in New York City before leaving for Hawaii. He was not an ordained minister, although he became one later.

In company with the Rowells, the Smiths arrived in Honolulu on September 21, 1842 on the brig *Sarah Abigail*. One of the first persons that they saw was Horton Knapp, a brother of Mrs. Smith, and a school teacher who with his wife had been one of the members of the seventh reinforcement of missionaries arriving in 1837.

The Smiths visited in Honolulu with the Knapps for about six weeks. Then the two young couples sailed for Koloa, the Knapps planning to stay some weeks to help the newcomers get settled.

Fortunately Horton Knapp's account of this visit to Kauai still survives in his journal now in the vault of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society. His pen has drawn such a clear picture of the community life at the time that it has seemed appropriate to quote freely from his journal.

Mr. Knapp wrote:

Koloa—Nov. 9th, 1842: I came to this place in company with Dr. & Mrs. Smith and my wife and Mrs. Goodale. We left Honolulu on Thursday at sunset. We took passage on the schooner Hawaii . . .

A young man of the name of 'Marcus' came off to the vessel with a small canoe rowed by a native to see who was on board. He then returned and came off the second time with a whale boat and took us on shore. Mrs. Knapp and myself being the last to go on shore.

When we reached the shore our company had proceeded[,] a waggon drawn by natives having been sent for the ladies and horses for Dr. Smith & myself. Mr. Lindsey sent his horse for me, Mr. Burnham met us on the shore at the store house. On our way to Mr. Burnham's we were met by a shower of rain coming down from the mountains. Passing by the house where Dr. Smith is to reside we went a mile further and were entertained very cordially at Mr. Burnham's for three days. Dr. & Mrs. Smith went to Mr. Goodale's and staid[sic] two days. Sat. Mr. B. came down with us to show us the mission houses[,] the keys being left in his care.

In the afternoon of the same day the ladies came with us, Mrs. B. accompanying them to see the mission premises. We were much pleased and the Dr. particularly so with the appearance of things here, the situation and convenience of the house, the coolness of the climate &c.

On Sabbath, Nov. 6th, Dr. Smith addressed the people, assembled for religious worship in the morning . . . I was his interpreter and though a young hand in this business succeeded pretty well—myself being judge.

In the afternoon I conducted the meeting alone . . .

At 1/2 past 4 Sab. P.M. a meeting was held at Br. Burnham's of which Dr. Smith took the lead. There were present—Mr. & Mrs. Goodale, Messrs Tobey Lindsey, Abeel, and Marcus. The two last mentioned are in the employment of Ladd & Co. They belonged to the whaleship Jefferson which was recently wrecked at Waimea. The others have resided here several years, among whom I should have included Mr. Holden & Mr. Hayward.

On Monday the 7th Nov. Dr. Smith & myself with the assistance of Mr. Gulick's men and his cart & oxen had the remainder of the boxes brought up from the shore, some of which we opened. The crockery was in excellent order, one small plate only being broken. The stove was badly broken and it is sent to the blacksmith's to be fixed. Dr. Smith & myself lodged in his new residence.

On Tuesday the 8 Nov. something was done at Whitewashing the rooms fitting and gluing together parts of some of the chairs. For dinner we had chicken soup with accompanying vegetables. For Tea we had various good things sent in by our kind neighbors.

Wed. Nov. 9th, I have been reading some in 'Life before the Mast', writing in my journal &c. Sent a note to Bro. Johnson by the mail which is carried weekly from Waioli to Koloa & Waimea, and from Waimea and Koloa to Waioli. The expense of the mail is \$1.00 per week and is borne by subscribers.

Mr. and Mrs. Knapp then spent a week at Waioli. The journal at Koloa continued:

On the 25th ins. called with Mrs. Knapp at Mr. Tobey's. He was out in the field. A native went after him and whilst we were looking about the yard to see the trees and plants he came. He had two broad alleys extending the whole length of the yard bounded by a row of kukui trees with flowers and plants of various kinds interspersed. Bananas taro pineapples pomegranites[sic] were among the fruits & vegetables in the garden. There were also Oleander trees, Orranges[sic] Morus monticauliss[sic] Ohia &c.

There was a very flourishes ki leaf fence around the yard. The ki plant grows very straight and to the height of from six to eight feet, it being at the same time from 1-1/2 to 2 inches in diameter.

We were invited into his house which was an improve[ment] upon the native style of building. The posts stood erect. The front side was boarded the other sides were thatched. It had also a good board floor. He offered us orranges[sic] and gave us soda which we drank. Mr. T. lodges in his own house, but boards at Mr. Goodale's. He is afflicted with a sore throat and calls frequently on Dr. Smith for medical aid. . . .

Taking leave of Mr. T. we rode on in our old one-horse wagon up to Mr. Goodale's. On going in we were told that an invitation had been sent to us and Mr. & Mrs. S. to come and spend the day there. I accordingly left Mrs. K. there and came after Mrs. S. but her arrangements for the day were such that she could [not] conveniently leave. After dinner I visited Mr. Goodale at his establishment for making kukui oil. His men had so much for a day's work and they take hold with a will and get through by 4 o'clock. Grinding and pressing out 50 gals. is their day's work. . . .

Tuesday 6th: Visited at Mr. Holden's with Mrs. Knapp. Mrs. H. absent on a visit at Waioli. Miss Susan Holden was keeping house during her absence.

In the P.M. we were visited[sic] at Mr. Goodale's where we took tea in company with Dr. & Mrs. Smith, who came at 4 o'clock. . . .

At this point the Knapps visited the Whitney's at Waimea.

Dec. 8th, P.M.: Returned to Koloa—found Mr. & Mrs. Burnham, Mrs. Goodale and Miss Susan Holden at tea at Dr. Smith's.

Sat. Dec. 10th: Mr. Gulick arrived at Koloa this P.M. He rode from Waioli, having taken passage from Honolulu to that place in Capt. Brenard's [Bernard's] vessel.

Sab. Dec. 11th: Bro. Gulick this morning preached to a full congregation and at his request I conducted the meeting in the afternoon.

Dec. 13th: Bro. Whitney came to Koloa by canoe. He arrived early in the morning. I went down to the shore to meet him. He and Bro. Gulick dined at Dr. Smith's to-day.

Friday Dec. 16th: Made a contract with the Governor by which he is to procure limestone for Dr. Smith.

Sat. Dec. 17: Rode out early in the morning in company with Bro. Smith and at his request to see some cattle belonging to the Station. They were herded with Mr. Burnham's. Dr. Smith called also to see Mrs. Goodale's sick babe.

Sab. Dec. 18th: Bro. Gulick conducted the meeting A.M. & P.M. Dr. Smith read a sermon by Rev. Dr. Barnes, at the English meeting at his house at 1/2 past 3 P.M. Prayers by Bro. G. & myself.

The next day the Knapps set sail for Honolulu. Their "passage was short, only about 44 hours long."

The Smiths were soon settled comfortably at Koloa which was to be their home for more than forty-five years. Dr. Smith, being the only doctor on Kauai, was too busy with his own profession to spend much time with the farming activities of the mission developed under Mr. Gulick. So the doctor reduced the herd of cattle to "about six cows and the oxen" and shipped to Honolulu the 7,000 pounds of sugar produced from cane grown

on mission land the previous year. This sugar had waited some three months for a vessel to take it away. A letter from Dr. Smith to Mr. Hall in Honolulu told some of the difficulties.

Koloa, Jan. 15, 1844.

Dear Bro. Hall,

I wrote you by the Hawaii last week that the sugar would go in said Hawaii that trip. You may think it is a mystery that it did not come. Mr. Burnham's man who had the care of loading the vessel called on me in the morning & told me he had orders to put my sugar as he called it—on board—It was at the seaside stored in the baggage house. At Evening he called again & said it had not gone—that he had orders to put a certain quantity belonging to Messrs. Ladd & Co. on board *first* & the Miss'n sugar afterwards—but the former filled the vessel & of course the latter did not go—I was sorry for I fear the rats will make sad havoc stored as it is in Ladd & Co.'s baggage house. I shall send it the first opportunity. . . .

In July 1844, the Rev. John Fawcett Pogue, who had arrived in Honolulu that same month, joined the Smiths at Koloa. The doctor now had help with the native schools and the Hawaiian church a resident pastor. Mr. Pogue was unmarried and stayed with the Smiths who were living in the adobe house built by Dr. Lafon in 1838. In October of 1846, the Smiths moved to the Gulick house nearby. Mr. Pogue remained in the Lafon house but continued to eat his meals with the Smiths. The doctor wrote to Honolulu for a "bell of sufficient size to be heard 40 rods against the trade wind. Its use will be to call Br. Pogue to dinner."

It was a fortunate thing that the Smiths with their three small girls had moved when they did. During the following March there occurred a flood of such proportions that even now after nearly ninety years, the people of Koloa still talk of it. Constant rains for ten days had so saturated the ground that when a heavy storm arose on the night of March 20, 1847 the streams, already high, began to overflow their banks. The Lafon house was situated a few yards from a short bend in the stream which would send the water directly towards the house when the banks overflowed. About three o'clock next morning, Mr. Pogue, who had been unable to sleep, discovered that most of the furniture in his room was afloat.

Immediately he started for the Smith's. The lightning flashes showed him that the stream had left its natural course and was flowing with great force between him and Dr. Smith's, taking with it fences, houses and bridges. The water was about three

or four feet deep and by clinging to bushes and shrubs Mr. Pogue was able to make two-thirds of the distance before stopping to rest. He climbed a tree but remained only a short time before hastening on to help the Smith family. He immediately lost his footing and was swept for half a mile towards the sea, tossed and battered against the rocks and trees, before he was able to pull himself on to a pile of stones. Here he lay until daybreak when he managed to crawl to a grass hut close by, where he was found soon afterwards by two native women.

Meanwhile the Smiths had become thoroughly alarmed about Mr. Pogue. The native messenger sent to his house reported that he was not there. At once Dr. Smith spread the alarm and about daybreak some men brought in Mr. Pogue's torn cloak. A few minutes later news came that Mr. Pogue had been found, and no time was lost in carrying him to the Smith's home. For some days his condition was critical but it was several months before he entirely recovered.

According to Chester Lyman a young traveller from New Haven, Connecticut, who came to Koloa ten days later, Mr. Pogue's—

home was left a perfect wreck. The doors & partitions were broken through—the walls undermined—the floors broken down—& many cart loads of mud and rubbish left mingled with his library & furniture. His books of course were utterly destroyed & the house rendered unfit to repair. It is the house built by Dr. Lafon & it is said that when he built it he was warned by some of the people not to place it where he did, in consequence of a tradition that many years ago similar floods to this present one had swept over the ground.

Mr. Lyman also reported that—

The water in Dr. Smith's yard was 2 or 3 feet deep. The basement of his house, in which was his office, was nearly filled & a large portion of his medicines & many of his books, utterly destroyed. Some of the outhouses were also swept away.

Dr. Smith wrote to Mr. Hall that—

The basement of the house in which we lived & in which I had my medicine and part of my books—stores &c. had about 5 feet of water in it. Our milk house was swept off with its contents, not a stick remains to tell where it stood.

Fortunately there were no lives lost although there were many narrow escapes. Considerable damage was done to property. Houses and bridges were swept away. Valuable taro lands and fish ponds were completely destroyed while the sugar mill at Waihohonu was damaged to the extent of about \$2,000.

Mr. Pogue stayed only one more year at Koloa. It was voted

at the General Meeting in 1848, to send him to Kealahou where, through a series of circumstances which need not be dealt with here, the work had become short-handed. Before going to Kealahou, Mr. Pogue married Maria Whitney in Honolulu, on May 29, 1848. She was the daughter of the Samuel Whitneys and was the first girl baby born in Hawaii of white parentage. As a child of six she had been sent to family friends in New England, where she had received her education. In 1844 when she was twenty-three, she returned to her parents, sailing on the same ship with Mr. Pogue.

With the removal of Mr. Pogue to Kealahou, the Hawaiian Church at Koloa was again left without a resident pastor. Mr. Rowell, busy with his large field at Waimea, became the acting pastor but Dr. Smith and his native assistant did most of the active work. This assistant, Samuel Kahookui, was a remarkable man. He had been in the second class to graduate from Lahainaluna Seminary and for years taught school on Kauai. About 1847 he began to help more directly with the mission work by holding meetings from place to place under the direction of the missionaries. After Mr. Pogue left, Kahookui was kept busy within Koloa, where he conducted certain of the regular services. Eventually he obtained a license to preach. Although in his later years he became almost totally blind, he was always a forceful and intelligent speaker, much liked by his hearers.

In 1850 Dr. Smith asked to be released from the American Board. He had no intention of abandoning missionary work but was merely taking a step sanctioned by the Board in 1848. The Board at that time determined to withdraw gradually from the support of their mission in Hawaii, so that it would slowly become independent. Under the new arrangement Dr. Smith received \$250 annually from his church and the fees from his professional services, which were paid almost entirely by foreigners. The Board allowed Dr. Smith his house and part of the mission land on condition he stayed in missionary work. If his health failed, he could apply to the Board for help and when he died, the property at Koloa would go to his wife and children.

Dr. Smith took this step only after much thought and with some misgivings but he did not regret his decision. Fifteen years later he wrote to his mother-in-law:

The Lord has been good to us in this land of strangers and though we are *not rich* yet we have enough for our present wants. . . . We have ever so much to be thankful for in regard to temporal mercies. We have both comfortable health, our children are well and all with us—and a great comfort to us.

Dr. Smith was ordained in July of 1854 and formally installed as pastor of Koloa church. It was distinctly to the man's credit that he was able, with constant calls upon him for his medical skill, to find time to prepare himself for the ministry. His was the first ordination held on Kauai and caused considerable interest among the Hawaiians. Dr. Smith held his pastorate until 1869, when he stepped aside for the Rev. Helekunihi.

But this did not mean that the doctor went into retirement. He kept on with his medical practice, which continued to take him at a moment's notice to the furtherest ends of the island. Dr. Smith's most famous ride occurred in February of 1866 when R. C. Wyllie's nephew lay dying at Hanalei. Mounting a fresh horse every ten miles, the doctor was able to cover the forty miles from Koloa in three hours. In time Dr. Smith came to be the sole survivor of the American missionary men stationed on Kauai. His quiet influence for steadfast Christianity was felt all over the island but particularly by the Hawaiian pastors who looked to him for guidance. Although failing strength limited his exertions in the last few years of his life, Dr. Smith continued his activities almost until the last. He conducted two services on the Sunday a fortnight before his death, which occurred at Koloa on the last day of November 1887.

Mrs. Smith outlived her husband by nearly four years. Hers was a personality of great charm and force, which made her home a center for social gatherings. Indeed it has been recorded that "one could hardly be said to have known Kauai, who has not sojourned in the gracious and hospitable home of Dr. and Mrs. Smith, which was the only stopping place for strangers passing through Koloa." In those days before hotels and quick transportation, the mission families were often called upon to receive into their homes travelers, some of whom were friends but many were strangers. Sometimes visitors followed one another without an interval, so that there was constantly some outsider to be entertained. In a letter to her sister Hannah Knapp in 1848, Mrs. Smith wrote,

. . . We are alone again, all alone by ourselves. I do not know when

we have sat down to our table alone for so many weeks together before . . . not in four years. . . . You know I am not so great a lover of solitude as to wish to be alone always, but it is very pleasant to have none but ourselves to provide for occasionally . . .

When the doctor was away, as frequently happened, Mrs. Smith took his place in prescribing and supplying medicines to natives and sometimes to foreigners. Both she and her husband spoke Hawaiian fluently and, unlike many other missionary parents, passed on this fluency to their children.

One of the most prominent of Mrs. Smith's missionary activities was the boarding school she conducted for Hawaiian girls at Koloa. It was started in 1862 and ran for ten years. Besides Mrs. Smith, the teachers were her sister, Miss Deborah Knapp, and her two oldest daughters, Emma and Charlotte. Primarily the school was designed to give the girls a domestic training that they might conduct their own future homes more efficiently. English was the language used, although the girls were taught to read and write in Hawaiian. Besides housework, the girls learned simple arithmetic and geography. The yearly enrollment averaged about twelve pupils, whose ages were from five to fourteen years. Board and tuition was set at fifty dollars per annum, which in some cases was paid by the Hawaiian Board of Education. The school also received support from the Hawaiian Evangelical Association. After ten years the school was discontinued, not from lack of pupils but from lack of teachers. Deborah Knapp returned to her home in Connecticut in 1869 after fifteen years at Koloa, and Charlotte Smith, better known as "Lottie", married A. S. Hartwell in 1872. This left only Mrs. Smith and her daughter Emma, who found the task of continuing the school impossible. They dismissed the pupils, but kept a few in their own family to receive some instruction. These Hawaiian girls scattered throughout the islands, some of them marrying foreigners.

Sometime around 1880 the Smiths tore down the old adobe house of the Gulicks with the intention of building a more modern dwelling on the same site. They moved into the house in which the boarding school for native girls had been held, expecting to stay only temporarily; but their plans for a new home never materialized. The Smiths made changes to suit their needs in the boarding school and lived there the rest of their lives. This

old homestead still stands next to the home of Dr. A. H. Waterhouse, a grandson of the Smiths.

Rev. Daniel Dole was the last missionary to be stationed at Koloa by the Sandwich Islands mission. He and his family arrived in August of 1855. Their home was on the road to the landing and stood nearly opposite the public school grounds of today. Mr. Dole had been at Punahou since its founding and went to Koloa to establish a similar boarding school for the children of the missionary families of Kauai. Other children also attended, some even coming from Maui and Hawaii, for Mr. Dole was an excellent teacher. The school started in a small way with twelve pupils. The girls and boys had their share of work about the house and garden. In later years they recalled with pleasure the many care-free hours spent after work was done in swimming in Maulili pool and in walking or riding all over the surrounding country, learning every corner of it. The school grew, so Mr. Dole raised the money for a building to be erected across the street from his house, to be used as a school during the week and as a chapel on Sundays for the English-speaking congregation to whom Mr. Dole had preached since his arrival in Koloa. This congregation formally organized in 1862 as the Foreign Church of Kauai after a start two years previously. Daniel Dole left Koloa after his wife's death in 1874 and went to stay at Kapaa with his son George, who was the manager of the plantation there. Here Mr. Dole lived until he died on August 26, 1878.

To return to Rev. Helekunihi, the first Hawaiian pastor at Koloa. Not much is known about him. The church records show that he had been a retainer in the service of the Maui chiefs and that he stayed but two years at Koloa before going to Koolau in 1871.

Helekunihi was succeeded by Rev. J. H. Mahoe, who had returned two years previously from the Gilbert Islands, where he had been a missionary for twelve years. Mahoe had been seriously wounded during an uprising of the natives, and losing the use of his right arm, had been forced to return to Hawaii. Undaunted, he learned to write with his left hand and when his strength returned, he took up his missionary work again. In 1872 Mahoe became pastor of the Hawaiian church at Koloa, where he stayed the rest of his life with the exception of a few

years spent at Kilauea to work among the Gilbert Islanders, laborers on the plantation.

It is well to state here that there are too many names on the list of pastors of the Koloa Hawaiian Church to treat of each one individually. Different sources have been found to contain conflicting material, so that it has been necessary to compile a list from the available records and append it to this paper.

The adobe church of 1837, with its roof re-thatched at intervals, continued to serve its congregations well until 1858 when it was blown down by a severe gale in February of that year. The people at once began to collect materials and funds for a new church, which was completed two years later on the same site as the old. It was built of wood and undoubtedly had some of the same rafters from the adobe building, for native hardwoods, when protected from the weather, last a long time. The church cost about \$3,700 in cash, exclusive of gratuitous labor, of which \$400 remained a debt at the time of dedication because there was a partial failure of the crop of cane belonging to the church. The congregation on Sunday at this period numbered from 200 to 300 and included about 200 church members. With the passing of the years, the native population decreased and so did the congregations. Today the Hawaiians worship in their own chapel near the old church which was rebuilt in 1929 for the English-speaking congregation which had organized the Union Church at Koloa some five years previous.

Other missionaries than the Americans came to Koloa. The Catholics sent the noted Father Walsh, who on Christmas Day, 1841, conducted the first mass ever held on Kauai. For many years Koloa was the center of Catholic activities on the island. Their church built in the '50s has recently been restored. The Mormons appeared, travelling by twos and going from house to house to spread their beliefs. With the Japanese came the Buddhist priest and the Shinto temple.

Turning back to the affairs of Ladd & Co., that firm had encountered financial difficulties and had been forced to borrow money, putting up their sugar plantation as security. Their affairs became so involved that it was plain that only a miracle could save them from bankruptcy. The Hawaiian government being one of the creditors, Dr. G. P. Judd, then head of the Treasury

Board, attached the property of the firm and forced the sale of the plantation in order to collect what he could. This was at the end of 1844 but it took three full years before the title to the plantation was cleared. Dr. Robert W. Wood, who had been one of the principal creditors, foreclosed his mortgage and, after settling a prior claim of the government, he became the sole owner of the plantation.

Dr. Wood has rightly been called the father of successful sugar industry in Hawaii. It was his unusual business ability which enabled him to take over the struggling plantation at Koloa and turn it into a profitable enterprise. Ever since he had arrived in Honolulu in the spring of 1839 and been appointed physician at the Seamen's hospital, Dr. Wood had watched with great interest Ladd & Co.'s efforts at Koloa. He was convinced that it could be made a success and in the twenty-seven years he controlled it, he proved he was right. Koloa Plantation became one of the most prosperous in the islands.

Dr. Wood employed three different men as superintendents before his brother-in-law, Samuel Burbank, became manager in 1851. Mr. Burbank, a lawyer from Maine, had a mechanical turn of mind which he used to advantage in his new position. The plow and the harrow which he developed to meet the rocky condition of the Koloa soil were in demand by other planters. After new machinery was installed in the mill in 1854, the plantation produced about 250 tons of sugar, valued at \$46,000. As the yearly expenses did not exceed \$15,000 a decided profit was made. Definitely Koloa was on its feet.

Mr. Burbank began the drainage of 400 acres of swamp land situated in back of the lower hills, which was to take some years to finish. The drainage of the water showed that the swamp had originally been an ancient forest. Large stumps of *loulou* palms, *ohiaha* and *lehua* trees stood upright much in the same positions they had occupied before the rising water killed them. The plantation found these old trees an excellent source of wood supply and used about two or three hundred cords each year. The swamp land was found to be too infertile to be practical for growing cane. It was further discovered to be an old peat bog which consumed itself when a fire was set to burn off the underbrush. Eventually this whole swamp area was turned into a reservoir of

425 acres which today has a capacity of 2,300,000,000 gallons of water.

Mr. Samuel Burbank, dying after a sudden illness in May 1857, was succeeded by his nephew, John Burbank, who in turn was followed by George Dole. In 1872 Dr. Wood sold his plantation to Paul Isenberg, J. N. Wright and Adolph Haneberg. Later A. S. Hartwell and W. O. Smith formed a copartnership with J. N. Wright. In 1878 Hartwell, Smith and Wright incorporated under the name of Koloa Sugar Co. for a term of fifty years, with a capitalization of \$200,000. The details of these transactions will be reported in the history of the plantation to which reference has already been made.

Over a long period, Koloa was the favorite place of the whaling vessels to obtain fresh supplies on Kauai. The district was noted for its superior sweet potatoes and ship captains were certain of obtaining all they needed. There was also an abundance of firewood, and water could be had conveniently near the landing. Fresh vegetables could always be secured. In addition to barrels of salt beef, the whalers often shipped cattle and pigs on the hoof to be slaughtered when the boat reached the Arctic regions and hung on the rigging to freeze. One of Kauai's sons, Mr. S. W. Wilcox, used to tell of the whaling vessels lying off Koloa, "strung with crooked-necked squashes all about the stern and even into the rigging, when ready to set sail in the spring of the year."

The port of Koloa did a remarkable amount of trade considering the fact that the roadstead was not safe except when the trade winds blew. Most vessels preferred not to anchor but "lay on and off" during the process of loading, rather than risk the chance of being wrecked by a sudden change of wind. An estimate in 1857 stated that 10,000 barrels of sweet potatoes were grown each year at Koloa and that the crop furnished nearly all the potatoes sent to California from Hawaii. Sugar and molasses were also chief articles of export. For years Koloa was the only port of entry on Kauai for goods from other countries and a customs house officer was stationed there.

Many foreigners came to the place, attracted either by the chance to work for the plantation or by the opportunities to go into business for themselves. The contribution of these men to the new industrial order and to the community itself was substantial,

although their names do not occupy much space in the written records. They were men of different nationalities—American, English, Welsh, German—the majority of whom had come to Hawaii as sailors before the mast. Almost without exception they were skilled workers in trades which were needed in a community like Koloa—carpenters, cabinetmakers, blacksmiths, masons, wheelwrights, coopers and harnessmakers. Their names present an interesting list—Blake, Neal, Mundon, Hayward, Charman, Hobbs, Newman, Titus, Wright, to mention only a few. Most of them married Hawaiians and spent the rest of their lives in Koloa, where today many of their descendants are still living.

As was the case elsewhere in these islands, the plantation was faced soon with the problem of obtaining labor. It was apparent that the Hawaiians needed more time to adjust themselves to the new economic order. For some years there was an acute labor shortage which was partially relieved when Dr. Wood hired workers from Honolulu and the island of Hawaii, but it was not until the introduction of the Chinese in 1852 that the situation was definitely improved. Later, natives from the Gilbert Islands were tried. These Micronesians, used to the heat of the equator, found the Hawaiian climate too cold, so they were returned to their homes. After some years the Japanese came as laborers to the plantation, followed in the early part of the century by the Porto Ricans. Next came the Filipinos. The different cultural backgrounds of these peoples intensifies the interest in the Koloa of today.

And in conclusion, what does the word "Koloa" mean? Nobody knows. Some say the word relates to "long sugar cane;" others insist that Koloa means the native wild duck. You can choose for yourself.

PASTORS OF THE HAWAIIAN PROTESTANT CHURCH AT KOLOA

Compiled from the following sources:

List of pastors taken from Koloa Hawaiian Church records
by Henry Blake, Secretary, Feb. 27, 1926.

Hawaiian Evangelical Association reports, 1863-1934.

Minutes of the General Meetings of the Sandwich Islands
Mission, 1834-1853.

Reports of the American Mission stations on Kauai, 1834-1866.

Rev. P. J. Gulick—May 3, 1835-1842.

Rev. W. P. Alexander, Supply—1842.

Rev. Samuel Whitney, Acting—1843-1844.

Rev. G. B. Rowell, Supply—1844.

Rev. J. F. Pogue—1846-1848.

Rev. G. B. Rowell—1848-1854.

J. W. Smith)

S. Kahookui)—Assistants.

Rev. J. W. Smith—July 1854-1869.

Rev. E. Helekunihi—1869-1871.

Rev. J. H. Mahoe—1871-1880.

Rev. S. U. Kapahi—May 22, 1881-May 13, 1888.

Rev. J. H. Mahoe—Apr. 7, 1888-Jan. 21, 1891.

Rev. David Kapali, Supply during Mahoe's absence as delegate
to Gilbert Islands Mission—1890.

Rev. L. M. Mitchell—June 27, 1891-June 9, 1895.

Ordained Mar. 20, 1892.

Mr. Joseph Aiu, Licentiate—July 10, 1895-May 24, 1896.

Rev. S. K. Kaulili—June 11, 1896-Aug. 31, 1896.

None—1896-1897.

Mr. O. Z. Waikalai, Licentiate—June 8, 1897-Sept. 30, 1897.

None—1897-1898.

Mr. O. Z. Waikalai, Licentiate—June 15, 1898-Mar. 31, 1899.

Rev. J. M. Naeole—1899.

Rev. Samuel Ekaula—Apr. 1899-Mar. 27, 1900.

None—1900-1901.

Rev. J. M. Lydgate—Apr. 9, 1901-Oct. 20, 1919.

Rev. J. Kanoho Mahi—July 1903-July 1905)

Rev. S. K. Kaulili—1908-1923)—Assistants.

Rev. D. K. Kaeamoku—1924.

Rev. Chas. Keahi—1925-1926.

Mr. Henry Waiau, Licentiate—1927.

None—1928.

Rev. E. K. Richardson—1929-1932.

Mr. Samuel Keala, Licentiate—1933-.

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HMCS=Hawaiian Mission Children's Society

RHAS=Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society

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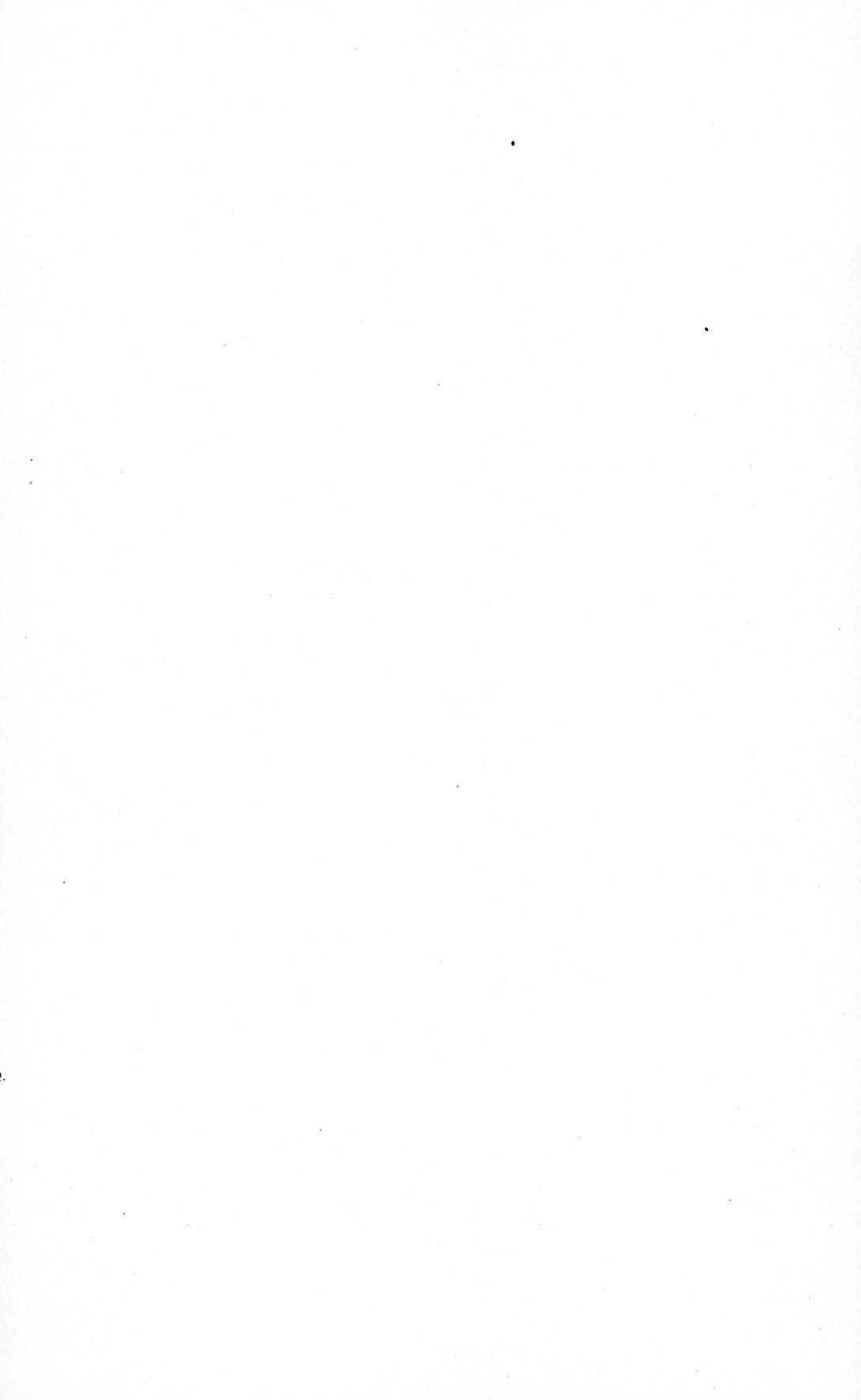
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